

Scorsese's
mob hit,
GoodFellas

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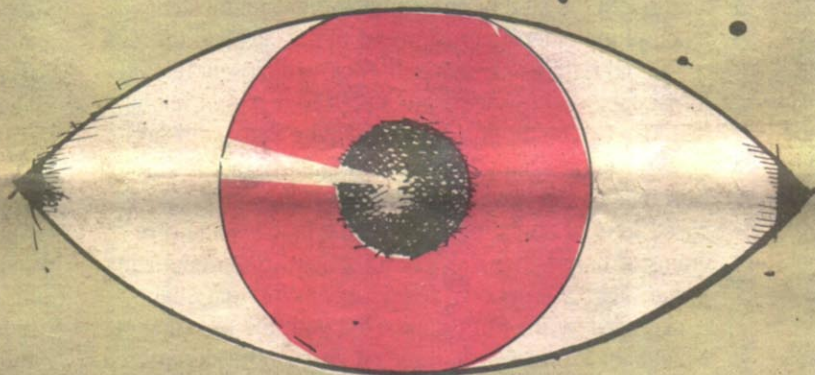
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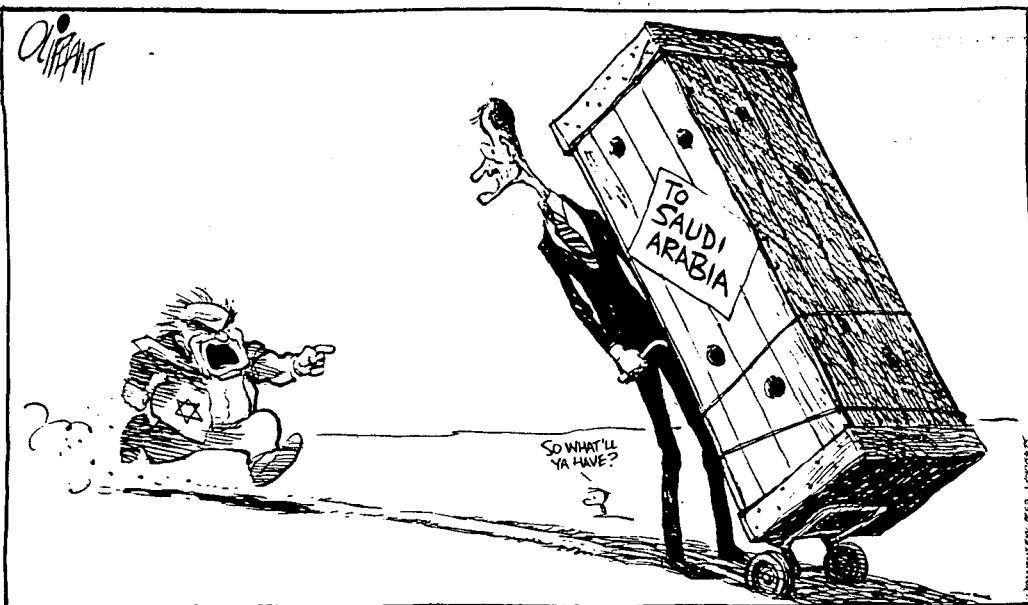
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BEHIND THE PAPER CURTAIN

How will Bonn deactivate
East Germany's secret-police files?



Paul Hockenos reports, page 3



'IT'S NOT \$21 BILLION IN ARMS — IT'S PAT BUCHANAN.'

Semitic divisions en-Gulf conservatives

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

What began as a debate among conservatives about U.S. Persian Gulf policy has quickly escalated into a shouting match with one side charging Jewish conspiracy and the other anti-Semitism. The charges and counter-charges reveal just how divided the once united conservative movement now is.

The chief antagonists are columnist and former Nixon and Reagan administration official Patrick Buchanan and *New York Times* columnist A. M. Rosenthal, but others have leaped into the fray. The controversy began heating up when Buchanan, a regular on the TV show *The McLaughlin Group*, charged that "the only two groups that are beating the drums for war in the Middle East" are "the Israeli Defense Ministry and its amen corner in the United States." Rosenthal responded in a September 14 column by charging Buchanan with anti-Semitism for singling out Jews for attack and then ascribing their views to "alien loyalties."

Buchanan quickly fired off an angry retort in his political column that regularly appears in 180 newspapers nationwide. He charged that Rosenthal's column was a "contract hit" done "in collusion with" the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, which prompted a *New York Post* editorial supporting Rosenthal and efforts at mediation by *Washington Times* Editorial Page Editor Tony Snow and *National Review* Editor William F. Buckley, Jr.

The obvious question about this fracas is who is right about whom. Is Buchanan an anti-Semite? Or are Rosenthal and other hawks agents of the Israeli Defense Ministry? A less obvious, but no less interesting, question is why

this unusually bitter controversy has erupted at all. What does it mean for conservatives and for the nation?

Echo of the past: In my opinion, Rosenthal and the *New York Post* are substantially correct about Buchanan, but it is important to understand what it means to call him an anti-Semite. There is no evidence that he has a personal antagonism toward every Jew he meets. Indeed, from the few encounters I've had with Buchanan, he has always struck me as loyal, generous, personable, without a trace of snobbery and willing to say what he believes—whatever the consequences. But in Buchanan's political attitude toward Jews, and in the way he writes about Jewish intellectuals that he disagrees with, he represents a return to the kind of anti-Semitism that permeated much of the older American right of the '30s and the '40s.

The old right's anti-Semitism took two closely related forms. First, right-wingers attempted to discredit liberal opinions and institutions by associating them with Jews. In the '30s, for example, the right regularly referred to the New Deal as the "Jew Deal." Second, right-wingers accused Jews of attempting to foist the policies and programs of "international Jewry" upon unwitting Americans. In the '30s, "international Jewry" meant international bankers led by the Rothschilds; but with the founding of Israel after World War II, it meant Zionism headquartered in Tel Aviv. In the more extreme versions, even Communism was seen, as former Huey Long lieutenant Gerald K. Smith put it, as a "Jewish plot, a Jewish trick."

Not everyone on the right held these views. For example, Ohio Republican Sen. Robert Taft and his allies in Congress were not anti-Semites, but most of what passed for the organized right—from the pro-Franco Catholic right to Smith's Christian Nationalist Crusade—did. And this anti-Semitism was often fused with isolationism: most of the right opposed going to war with Hitler and later U.S. entry into the U.N.

Sad to say, Buchanan exhibits in his recent writings the same anti-Semitism and isolationism, if in somewhat tamer and somewhat less paranoid form. Like the old right, he attempts to discredit policies he disagrees with by associating them with Jews. In one column attacking those who favor going to war against Iraq, he cited by name only Jewish columnists—Rosenthal, Henry Kissinger, Charles Krauthammer and Richard Perle—even though numerous non-Jews, from William F. Buckley Jr. to Indiana Sen. Richard Lugar, have taken the same position. While Buchanan may not be personally anti-Semitic, such a ploy panders to popular anti-Semitism.

Like the old right, Buchanan also ascribes American Jewish opinions to alien influence—in this case, the "Israeli Defense Ministry." Of course, some American Jews do base their foreign-policy views on what they think are Israel's best interests, but none of the people he cited invoked the Zionist state's interests in their arguments; all have been known for their hawkish responses to other circumstances that did not involve Israel (e.g. Panama); and some of them, like Kissinger, have never shown any sign of having their world views dictated by Israel's interests. Indeed, as the *New Republic* revealed in its October 1 issue, Kissinger's firm, Kissinger Associates, had considerable dealings with Iraq prior to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

In the past, Buchanan has taken tendentious positions on matters that concern Jews, questioning the guilt of convicted Nazi war criminals, comparing one former Nazi scientist to Andrei Sakharov and casting doubt upon whether concentration victims at Treblinka were really gassed. To someone who knows little history, these opinions might appear arguable, but in the context of his attacks against Jewish intellectuals, they take on a more sinister appearance.

Breakup of the right: If Buchanan's opinions were totally unrepresentative of the right, the controversy would have little political significance. But his salvoes against Rosenthal, Kissinger et al. are a continuation of factional warfare that began a decade ago and has removed any semblance of conservative unity.

The conflict began in 1981, when old right conservatives, who came to be called "paleoconservatives," backed

INSIDE STORY

Dallas University professor W.E. Bradford for chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities against the neoconservatives' candidate, William Bennett. The paleocons, who mainly live in the Midwest and the South, pride themselves in having been conservatives before the late '60s. Charter members include *Conservative Mind* author Russell Kirk, *Chronicles* editor Thomas Fleming, *National Review* senior editor Joseph Sobran, Bradford and Buchanan.

The Bradford-Bennett fight was over patronage and grants more than ideology, but since then the conflict has taken on heavy ideological baggage. While paleocons accuse neocons of being global Wilsonians and would-be socialists who have attached themselves to conservatism for purely opportunistic reasons, neocons accuse paleocons of attempting to revive what neoconservative author Richard John Neuhaus calls the "forbidden bigotries of the right."

Since an explosive meeting at a conservative conference in 1986, the conflict has regularly involved charges of "dual loyalty" on one side and anti-Semitism on the other. In an October 1988 speech at the Heritage Foundation, for example, Kirk said, "Not seldom it has seemed as if some eminent neoconservatives mistook Tel Aviv for the capital of the U.S.—a position they will have difficulty in maintaining as matters drift." Neocon Midge Decter, director of the Committee for the Free World, called Kirk's remark "a bloody piece of anti-Semitism."

In a broader sense, Buchanan's attack—and the growth of a paleocon faction—represents a kind of Freudian return of the repressed, where tendencies that were once denied and submerged within new personality formations have crept back into the public discourse. In the '50s, as the Cold War dominated American politics, the old isolationist anti-Semitic right was marginalized—existing only on the far fringes in groups like the Liberty Lobby—and a new right, focused on the Soviet threat, assumed the mantle of conservatism. With the end of the Cold War, however, this older right has re-emerged, splintering the conservative movement.

In terms of national politics, the re-introduction of anti-Semitic arguments represents a further degeneration of American political debate. With Buchanan's attacks against Jewish columnists and with Louisiana Senate candidate David Duke running for Senate as the representative of the National Association for the Advancement of White People (see story page 6), American politics appears to be going back to its more squalid past, when parties like the pre-Civil War anti-Catholic, anti-Jewish and anti-immigrant Know-Nothings threatened to dominate the public debate.

(For a longer discussion of the divisions on the right, see my essay "The Conservative Crackup," in *The American Prospect*, Fall 1990.)

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By Paul Hockenos

EAST BERLIN

OCCUPIED! THE FILES BELONG TO US!" announces the spray-painted banner over the entrance to the former Ministry for State Security, or Stasi, complex on Normannenstrasse. Against a blustery wet wind, anorak-clad pamphleteers rotate leaflet duty, taking a break to warm up in the bulky green tents that block the building's main gate. Inside the canvas shelters, the musty odor of blankets and burning candles immediately stirs thoughts of the opposition vigils in the Berlin churches a year ago, the onset of the upheaval that brought down party and state.

A year later, the street movement's original demand that the notorious secret police apparatus be fully dismantled and its victims rehabilitated remains unfulfilled. With the dissolution of the German Democratic Republic (GDR), an emotional storm of controversy continues to surround the legacy of the former police state and its implications for the single German republic.

The thorny moral questions of guilt and responsibility have a familiar ring in German history. The shocking revelations of the Stasi's permeation of GDR society at every level and the breadth of popular collaboration demands the full-scale confrontation with the past that both German states circumvented after the war. But unification rather than reconstruction is now the rationale to bury history. While the German version has unfolded at dizzying speed, the secret police drama is certain to be played out along parallel lines in every other former East bloc state.

Closing the file: Since the communist regime's fall in November, the terms and nature of the Stasi's dismantlement have been top among the democracy and human-rights groups' grievances. In January, when the interim government of party moderate Hans Modrow tried to justify maintaining a reformed version of the security agency, Stasi offices around the country were ransacked. With the election of the ruling Christian Democratic Union (CDU) in March, the liquidation process has proceeded at a suspiciously slow pace. The GDR Interior Ministry, under Bonn's watchful eye, has concentrated on the agency's international spy network rather than the internal structures and personnel still active in the bureaucracy. In the spirit of the Federal Republic's heavy-handed annexation of the GDR, the voluminous Stasi files, at first, were slated to go directly under the control of the West's security service, the Office for the Defense of the Constitution (ODC).

The notion that the illegally gained intelligence would simply be transferred from one security service to another enraged activists. In early September offices were again stormed. To clear the final hurdle for unification, Bonn and East Berlin struck a last-minute deal: the files would stay in a central archive in Berlin that the ODC would have access to in certain unspecified cases. A "non-partisan" committee of former GDR citizens, appointed in Bonn, would oversee the data's mediation.

The ambiguously worded compromise falls drastically short of the opposition groups' demands. Twenty-one of the former dissidents in the Stasi headquarters, along with colleagues in Dresden, Erfurt and Leipzig, have

resorted to a hunger strike, the form of protest they know all too well from their years underground. Through the maze of towering, polished office buildings, the encamped strikers' location in the archives is easily spotted: "Smash the Stasi Structures!," "Who Murdered Mathias Domaschker?," "Hungerstreik—Tag 12" reads the graffiti and banners surrounding the wing's second story.

Hungry for justice: From the open window, the pale but familiar faces of painter Bärbel Bohley and musician-dissident Wolf Biermann peer across the vacant compound to the main archives. At deadline, weak and ill with flu after nearly two weeks without food, the hunger strikers remained defiant and articulate in their demands.

"The [Stasi] victims just can't believe that they will receive justice under this agreement," explains New Forum co-founder Bohley in one of the gutted rooms adjacent to the archives. Beneath a heavy wool scarf and faint voice, the strike's oldest participant at 45 exudes the same strength that earned her the title "mother of the revolution" during the movement's earliest days last year. "The structures have not been dissolved but transformed to fit into the new political and economic system," she says. "Until it is fully clear who the victims were and who the collaborators were, the political atmosphere here will be dangerously poisoned."

The daily accusations flying in the capital city have crippled the government's ability to confront the GDR's mounting social problems. The only way to clear the air, to avoid conditions for blackmail and scandal, argue the dissidents, is to open the file cabinets to the public. The unification compromise throws former informants and former subjects of surveillance into the same category, with the same restricted access to their files.

The legislation denies victims the final decision over the fate of their file and undermines the post-communist GDR constitutional guarantee for their full public rehabilitation.

So far-reaching was collaboration with the security apparatus that the majority of the population seems content to leave the ugly Pandora's box safely tucked away. The Interior Ministry has been researching, without result, the background of parliament members for six months. The circuitous disclosure of the environment minister's former Stasi ties is only the tip of the iceberg, the opposition groups claim. Bohley and company lay the blame directly at the feet of the controversial CDU interior chief, Peter Michael Diestel, whose congenial manner with ex-Stasi functionaries and half-hearted approach to the agency's dismantlement has brought him under a barrage of fire.

A year after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the street movement's original demand that the notorious secret police apparatus be fully dismantled and its victims rehabilitated remains unfulfilled.

"There's absolutely no way a government could defend such an unethical policy if they didn't have a lot to hide," fumes Bohley. "I can tell you that I feel much more comfortable here than I would in parliament. At least here I know who I'm sitting next to."

The same bureaucrats who ran the Stasi archives last year are still at work today. Soon their paychecks will come from Bonn. Hundreds of related files from the central police office have already been destroyed, officers there report. In Erfurt, the hunger strikers claim that 60 former ranking Stasi officers meet regularly—for whom and for what purposes are unknown. Former Stasi-run firms have simply privatized, operating now through West German conglomerates. Their access to information and capital, as well as weapons, lays the grounds for powerful, mafia-like organizations in the unified country.

The democracy and human rights groups assert that an independent body of GDR citizens—with political histories clean beyond any doubt—should be put in charge of the files. The committee would take on the enormous task of sorting files into the categories of innocent victims, informants who were blackmailed or pressured, and willing or paid collaborators. Only those collaborators who actually caused an innocent person harm would be exposed or denied public office. The single parallel to this project in German history is the Gestapo files after the war, argues hunger striker Wolfgang Kempe, editor of the radical East Berlin weekly *Die Andere*. "Then the Allies took care of it. Now we have to do it ourselves in the most just, democratic way possible," says the bespectacled young doctor.

The Federal Republic's access to the Stasi information raises another historical question—the role of the security apparatus in the post-Nazi era German state. In theory, according to the 1949 constitution, the ODC may operate only as an "intelligence service" and not as a secret or paramilitary police. In practice, the office's surveillance and persecution of non-parliamentary political opposition—along with a long list of other cloak-and-dagger functions—has effectively blurred any real distinction from that of a secret police. The recent provisions legislating the ODC's takeover of the GDR data would grant it even more room to operate

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c 1990 Peter Hannan

By Joel Bleifuss

The moral of the story

The best way to follow the devolution of U.S. policy in the Gulf is to read the newspaper that has become the unofficial mouthpiece of record for the Bush White House—the *New York Times*. In any one issue's coverage of the war-to-be, a mathematically inclined reader could count on two hands the quotes or observations attributed to people with names, the rest are from anonymous sources identified as "administration officials." Sometimes those officials don't exist. As the *Columbia Journalism Review* has reported, *Times* policy dictates that reporters attribute their personal conjectures to unnamed government officials. This makes it hard to know whose voice you're hearing. Take the case of the *Times* man for all seasons, diplomatic correspondent Thomas Friedman—former CIA intern, current tennis partner and confidant of Secretary of State James Baker and Pulitzer-prize-winning-journalist-turned-propagandist.

Morality splay: In mid-August, as U.S. troops were being deployed in Saudi Arabia, Bush claimed to be defending "our way of life." A couple weeks later the president's stated mission was to preserve the "security and stability of the Persian Gulf." Lest idealists among you get the idea that noble values like democratic and economic rights have anything to do with this coming war, forget it. This time—in the lingering spirit of the '80s—it's not even a pretext. Friedman wrote on September 2, "In the last 50 years the U.S., whatever its oratory, has tended to support democracy when it serves the interests of stability and to back away from insisting on it when it could destabilize an area of national interest. At stake in the Gulf is the stability of oil supplies. ..." Friedman could have added, "and the stability of oil profits"—a subject on which George Bush has expressed a keen interest. In 1986, oil was \$10 a barrel and our president's friends and colleagues who own and operate the U.S. oil industry were finding it hard to maintain their way of life. In spring of that year the former Texas oilman and then vice president went to Saudi Arabia and convinced King Fahd to agree, along with Iran, to lower production. Within a few months the price of oil was up to \$20 a barrel. Now, four years later, we are on the verge of a war that could make all the oil under Iraq and Kuwait ours—under the name of Gulf stability and the New World Order. On September 23, Friedman, defining the nature of the anti-Saddam coalition, wrote, "[D]eep down the U.S. understands that many of its partners are in the coalition only because of a coincidence of interests, not because they share a common sense of moral purpose. ... While the U.S. has sent troops from afar, infusing this situation with its traditional moralism in foreign policy, many of its partners see the confrontation as just business."

Big business: What is this moral purpose that Friedman says the U.S. has but its allies lack? Perhaps he has in mind the "moral purpose" that guided U.S. policy toward Iraq in the '70s, when Henry Kissinger reigned as national security adviser and secretary of state. Kissinger, a self-styled Metternich turned Hessian-consul-for-hire (recall his apologies for Chinese brutality on behalf of his corporate clients) was the principal architect of the last U.S. foreign-policy disaster in the Middle East. Remember the Shah of Iran? The Shah was brought to power by the CIA in 1953 and kept there with billions of dollars in U.S. weaponry, financial aid and internal security instruction. Former CIA analyst on Iran Jesse Leaf, told the *New York Times*' Seymour Hersh that the CIA, among other things, contributed technical training in torture techniques. (CIA officials deny the charge, saying Israel's intelligence agency, Mossad, took care of the "hard stuff.") In 1976, Amnesty International reported that Iran had the "highest rate of death penalties in the world, no valid system of civilian courts and a history of torture which is beyond belief. No country in the world has a worse record in human rights than Iran." And no country was a better friend to Iran than the U.S. But such friendship has a price. In March 1975, Iran and the U.S. signed an accord that required Iran to buy \$15 billion in U.S. goods and services over the next five years. That agreement was the largest of its kind in history—up until last month when Bush proposed his \$20-billion arms deal with the Saudis.

Blood Kurdling crime: In May 1972, at the request of the Shah, Nixon and Kissinger agreed to supply Kurdish rebels with millions of dollars in military hardware. According to William Blum in his definitive book, *The CIA: A Forgotten History*, the Shah wanted the secessionist Kurds armed in order to distract Iraq from its feud with Iran. But the Kurds, who feared being ultimately abandoned by the Shah, would initially only accept support from the U.S. So for three years the Kurdish resistance was



Socialist-feminist and assistant majority leader of the Oregon House of Representatives, Beverly Stein's career in electoral politics is beginning to bloom.

Beverly Stein: rep with pep

By Patrick Mazza

As usual, Beverly Stein is running at top speed. It's a sunny Sunday morning. With Oregon's six reliable months of clouds and rain drawing close, some of her neighbors will enjoy the sun lounging in the yards of their old Victorians and bungalows. But Stein, their state representative, will spend this day as she does most—in meetings. Today a particularly important item is on her agenda: breakfast with Democratic gubernatorial candidate Barbara Roberts.

Secretary of State Roberts has been trailing her Republican opponent, Attorney General Dave Frohnmayer, throughout the campaign. Polls show her closing in, but her courageous stand in favor of a ballot measure to shut down Oregon's Trojan nuclear power plant is costing her business support.

With Frohnmayer far ahead in the dollar race, she is counting on an intensive grass-roots campaign to get out the vote. Roberts will discuss campaign strategy with Stein. Grass-roots organizing is an area of expertise for the 43-year-old legislator who gained her seat in 1988 going door-to-door, mobilizing a large number of people to work for her in the heavily Democratic southeast Portland district.

Stein, a longtime socialist-feminist, still calls herself an organizer. "I continue to believe that the way change is made is through organizing," she says.

New left button-holing: Stein has taken her grass-roots tactics to the state house. To promote her legislative proposals for child care and welfare

reform, she made up leaflets and walked across the House floor distributing them. "Nobody puts their bills on brochures," she says. "But, being an organizer, I made leaflets out of my legislation."

"The skills of a community organizer work in this forum, and they aren't used to having them here," she says. "I organize within the legislature. And then I organize outside to apply pressure to it. And it works."

Stein's record bears her out. House Majority Leader Carl Hosticka says that during the 1989 session Stein was "probably one of the most effective of the new members—very effective, considering she was on the more progressive edge of the legislature."

She started out strong, becoming one of the two assistant majority leaders. In that, she had the backing of former Majority Leader Shirley Gold, whose seat Stein won as Gold moved on to the Oregon Senate. Stein then went on to spearhead legislation that added sexual preference to hate-crime laws, pass a housing bill that revitalized a moribund state housing program and became the legislature's child-care "czarina." It was in the latter capacity that she bailed out Oregon Gov. Neil Goldschmidt, according to Steve Rudman, a long-time Portland legislature watcher.

In 1988 Democrat Goldschmidt had announced a "Children's Agenda." But there was little money behind it and less substance. Yet by organizing children's advocates within and outside the legislature, Stein marshalled legislation to reorganize the Juvenile Services Commission, which dealt with juvenile offenders, into a Youth Services Commis-

sion with a broader mission to aid all youth. Attached to that bill was \$5 million for a Great Start program to fund local efforts aimed at early childhood development. Those two reforms turned the Children's Agenda into something people could believe in, Stein says. "It was an accomplishment."

A more marked accomplishment was getting her fellow legislators to make it a crime to harass gays and lesbians. This was no mean feat in a state that voted in 1988 to strike down a rule made by Gov. Goldschmidt barring discrimination against homosexuals in state government.

"She persistently worked on that issue and took a pretty tough position," says House Speaker Pro Tem Mike Burton, who voted for Stein's bill. "She put you on the spot. She's perfectly willing to stand up to the line and say, 'This is it, folks.' That is one of the things that hallmarks her."

Her mother's daughter: Stein says her perseverance comes from her mother, a scientist who unsuccessfully ran for the Pennsylvania legislature from their hometown of State College, Pa. "She's a very important factor because she expected me to have a career and taught me how to think and write."

It was at Berkeley, while she was earning a B.A. in urban studies, that Stein was politicized. "I didn't have a real sophisticated political consciousness," she says. "I had a gut feeling the war was wrong."

In 1970 she joined a women's consciousness-raising group. "The women's movement gave me a political analysis of what was going on," Stein says. She also began studying Marxism. Her maternal grandfather, a German Jew, was a socialist. Stein remembers her mother pointing out union demonstrators in front of a store and telling her, "We don't cross picket lines."

In 1973 Stein moved to Madison, Wis., to study law, with the aim of becoming a women's advocate. She graduated in 1976 and, wanting to return to the West Coast, looked at a map and picked Portland. That summer, seeking friends, she saw a flyer that read: "Socialist Feminism: Come to a picnic."

Says Stein, "I didn't know that anyone would put socialism and feminism together, and I said, 'That's exactly what I am.'"

The picnic was sponsored by the New American Movement (NAM), a self-described socialist-feminist organization that Stein says included "a lot of people from the New Left, Students for a Democratic Society and the old Communist Party." Like her, a lot of people at the NAM picnic were new to Portland and the party. Many were to become long-term friends. Some of them started a group known as the Cool Common Collective to study political theory and have fun.

A year later CCC members called a meeting to organize a Portland NAM chapter. "To our surprise, 40 people showed up," says Stein. "We were shocked."

The group held a retreat in the country to decide what to do. They picked the anti-nuclear movement because it was, as Stein says, the "cutting edge of political action." They became members of the Trojan Decommissioning Alliance, helping to organize demonstrations and sitdowns at the Trojan nuclear plant 34 miles west of Portland. Stein, a leader of the legal team, won an innocent verdict for 92 people arrested in the first civil-disobedience action at the plant.

"For five days we put the effects of low-level radiation on trial in Columbia County," says Stein. "The judge innocently allowed us to."

She was arrested in the third wave of civil disobedience at the Trojan plant in December 1978. Her interest in the plant continues to this day. She recently made election news putting GOP gubernatorial candidate Frohnmayer on the spot when she asked him for a ruling regarding the apparent contradiction between an Oregon law that prohibits

permanent nuclear waste dumps and the accumulating spent fuel rods at Trojan.

"This is where being elected is kind of nice. I have the ability to ask the attorney general for an opinion," Stein says. "I drew on my knowledge of that [late '70s] period to inform my request."

Making a difference: Since those days, Stein has made her mark on Portland and Oregon. As a legal aid lawyer, she gained a 7 percent electric rate rollback. She also played a vital role in redirecting community development block grants from construction to services. Community institutions such as the Council for Prostitution Alternatives and the progressive *Portland Alliance* newspaper owe their existence in part to Stein's work.

The legislator's political resume is extensive: co-chair of Portland's Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), the group that rose from the merger of NAM and the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee; national board member of DSA; co-chair of the Portland Rainbow Coalition; aide to a member of Portland's City Council. Stein is, in fact, hard pressed to list any avocations other than movies and trips to the Oregon coast.

Politics is Stein's true love. She lives alone, though not as a matter of principle. "You can put this in the personals column," she says. "I am looking for a man who would like a woman like me."

A professional facilitator for nonprofit groups when she is not doing legislative work, Stein is the quintessential feminist politician. Throughout her work she draws on a women's movement legacy of consensus building and group process. She is so embedded in the Portland activist community and so loved by so many that those who will make critical comments do so only in private. And when she is criticized, it is over a very old issue—the efficacy of electoral politics to change society.

"As legislators, social democrats are the best," says one Portland leftist, who adds that electoral politics is a waste of time in a system that overwhelmingly favors big business.

Another critic on her left calls Stein "the last liberal." He believes the strategy of "doing things for people by electing the right people" is wrong. Yet he adds, "I wish the legislature was full of Beverly Steins."

Stein admits that she does not discuss socialism in her campaigns. She leaves that to her opponents. In Stein's view, she does not have enough time to educate people about democratic socialism. She spends her time on practical issues. "I'm not a very theoretical person," she says.

Stein is often contrasted with Wally Priestley, a one-time socialist state legislator who played an agitator role in the Oregon House and effectively marginalized himself. Two days before Stein was to hold a major hearing on a "human investment" welfare-reform package she is pushing, Priestley died at age 59.

Whether Stein's way will prove effective in the long term is a matter of debate. She is aware of the pitfalls on the road to power. And coming from a heavily Democratic district that will probably elect her for as long as she likes (which will probably be a long time), Stein's influence will only grow.

"You don't compromise your values," she says. According to Stein, the question is: "What do you do with your credibility? Do you help mobilize people? I'm watching that. There's a conservatizing force on you in this forum."

She says the balance will come by staying close to the community, by becoming a new model legislator who actively organizes grass-roots constituencies while schmoozing on the legislative floor.

"The powerful tool that will really make changes is these two pieces working together," she concludes. "You put one foot in electoral politics and one foot in community organizing." □

Patrick Mazza is a Portland-based writer.

supported by \$16 million from the U.S. and untold millions from Iran. However, in March 1975 the Shah met with Iraq's then-vice president, Saddam Hussein, and negotiated peace—on the condition that the U.S. and Iran abandon their support for the Kurds, which was done immediately. The day after the treaty was signed, Iraq went on the offensive, attacking the Kurdish rebels, and within a week the Kurds cabled this message to the CIA: Complete destruction is hanging over our head. No explanation for this. We appeal [to] you and [the] USG[overnment] to intervene according to your promises. ... And the Kurds sent Kissinger this message: "Our movement and people are being destroyed in an unbelievable way with silence from everyone. We feel Your Excellency that the U.S. has a moral and political responsibility toward our people who have committed themselves to your country's policy." Neither the CIA nor Kissinger responded to these pleas. Hundreds were killed and thousands of Kurds—men, women and children, many barefoot with only the clothes on their backs—were forced to flee Iraq over the mountains for Iran. According to a 1976 report by the House Select Committee on Intelligence (known as the Pike report), "Over 200,000 refugees managed to escape into Iran. Once there, however, neither the U.S. nor Iran extended adequate humanitarian assistance. In fact, Iran was later to forcibly return over 40,000 of the refugees, and the U.S. government refused to admit even one refugee into the U.S. by way of political asylum, even though they qualified for such admittance." When the Pike Committee questioned Kissinger on his role in betraying the Kurds, His Excellency responded, "Covert action should not be confused with missionary work."

Appeal to reason: Although sane voices are speaking out against current U.S. gulf policy, their words for some reason have a problem filtering through the national-news media. For example, on September 19 Sen. Bob Kerrey, the Nebraska Democrat and decorated Vietnam veteran, gave a stunning speech before the U.S. Senate, a small portion of which follows: "Since Iraq's invasion of Kuwait last month ... I have been personally and greatly troubled. Something in all of the rationale and all the explanations seems to be missing. At first the missing piece was what the president did not tell the American people. Speaking to a nation that knew very little about Saddam Hussein, he filled in the blank with a picture of Adolf Hitler. This was more than a comparison. It was the rationale. ... Missing was the story of years of American support for this modern Hitler—support from our ambassador to Iraq, support which continued in the face of direct evidence that Iraq might be only hours away from invading Kuwait. ... I continue to feel strong personal reservations about the nature and extent of our commitment, because the scope of the threat invoked by the president does not seem to be reflected in the attitude of many of the soldiers [I visited] in Saudi Arabia who were shouting at Gen. Colin Powell, 'When do we get to go home? Why did you take away our basic allowance for quarters?' ... I am profoundly uneasy about the instant deployment of over 100,000 American troops, sold to the American people on the false assertions that Saddam Hussein is Adolf Hitler, that our way of life is at clear and present danger, that we have as much at stake as we did in World War II. At this moment I believe our military action was improperly rationalized, incompletely thought out and dangerous. It is dangerous because it could provoke the war we seek to prevent. ... One of the most disturbing assumptions in all of this is the one that declares: If we do not defang Hussein now, he will just be back in a few years to do the same thing. The assumption here is that we should remove with force what we have never in earnest attempted to remove through other means. Recall that not long ago our Commerce Department was cabling 'Hooray for you!' to American entrepreneurs seeking to export nuclear-weapons technology to Iraq. ... Our men and women in uniform are dear enough that we owe them our last full measure of candor before we ask them for their last full measure of devotion. ... Imagine if [the president] had told us of his willingness to comply with a Saudi request for armed support, but also shown us the intelligence photographs which made Saudi fears credible. ... Imagine if he had told us of the need to take arms to defend a new world order, but also explained exactly what that new world order is. ... The new world order described vaguely by the president surely does not mean a continuation of this old practice of selling weapons to the enemy of our enemy. ... Twenty billion dollars [in arms sales to Saudi Arabia] is a lot of money, Mr. President, for an economy struggling to keep its head above the recessionary waters swirling around us. However, we should be careful—very careful—not to let our foreign policy be completely dominated by the concerns of those who sell oil and weapons. ..."

A complete copy of this speech can be obtained by writing: Sen. Bob Kerrey, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510.

Passing the \$&L buck

The rich should bail *themselves* out of the S & L debacle, say members of the Financial Democracy Campaign (FDC). The coalition of more than 200 civic, labor, religious and business organizations, including Public Citizen, ACORN and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, believes that "the people who had the party" ought to "pay for the party." The FDC announced its national pledge to "put the burden where the blame is" at a Sept. 25 press conference in Washington, D.C., during which Boston Mayor Raymond Flynn termed the bailout "the biggest rip-off in American history." Among the group's demands are a 7.5 percent surtax on the interest of unearned income over \$100,000, a 10 percent levy on government-covered deposits over \$100,000, a moratorium on deregulation, and more low- and moderate-income housing financing flexibility from the Resolution Trust Corporation. For more information on the campaign, call (212) 245-0510.

An oil-free seventh day

Church groups across the nation will conduct a one-day "oil fast" Oct. 21, as an "act of worship symbolizing trust in God for security." Led by Synapses, a Chicago-based "peace and justice coalition," the oil-free Sunday is meant to deepen participants' spiritual commitment to restraining war-making in the Persian Gulf and to prepare for "long-term witness" against war. The inconvenience caused by a day without oil-fueled transportation, says Synapses, will provide a time for spiritual renewal that could lead to new initiatives in peacemaking.

For the mouths of eligible babes

Pro-choice advocates have reason to be concerned over a recent change in eligibility for the federal Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants and Children (WIC). A pregnant woman may now qualify for a substantial increase in benefits thanks to her unborn child. In the past, she would not be eligible until delivery. And while a woman with two children making \$20,000 a year does not qualify for WIC food, a pregnant mother of two earning the same amount may now apply as a family of four earning less than \$23,495. "We [in the feminist community] support the new interpretation as a way of helping women with their own health and the health of the fetus they have chosen to bring to term," reports Betty Gartman. "Our concern is ... will this new counting of family size be some kind of validation that a fetus is a person? The bottom line is, we don't want an extra nine months of eligibility if the cost is giving up choice for life."

California's green giant

California's "Big Green" environmental initiative has intruded into some of the most delicate trade negotiations the U.S. has ever engaged in, reports Jane Bailie. Scheduled for the November ballot, the California Environmental Protection Act would phase out cancer-causing pesticides and eliminate the use of chlorofluorocarbons by the year 2000. Bush administration officials worry that such strict pesticide-use codes would compromise the U.S. position on the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), aimed at "harmonizing international agricultural chemical standards between its 96 member nations (see *In These Times*, May 9)." If passed this December, the GATT treaty would override state regulations such as those defined by Big Green.

Brought to you by GE

A group of residents on Chicago's Southwest Side say a General Electric PCB extraction operation is threatening to turn their neighborhood into another Love Canal. GE's clandestine project, in operation for more than a decade, finally gained public attention earlier this year after GE sought an Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) permit to begin using a freon-based system—instead of its current oil separation process—to extract the highly-carcinogenic PCBs from electrical transformers. GE officially withdrew its permit application last month, prior to an EPA public hearing that was subsequently cancelled. The "Southwest Side Coalition" has vowed to continue its war against GE, which was fined for more than 60 violations of state toxic waste regulations—including waste storage and toxic spillage—at its Lynn, Mass. plant in 1989.

Please send timely news about local activities, follow-ups on stories we've run or other interesting bits of information—including your address and phone number—to Kira Jones, *In These Times*, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647.

Duking it out in Louisiana: You can't keep a bad man down

BATON ROUGE, LA.—By the time you read this, one of this country's more bizarre and frightening elections will be history. But long before Louisiana voters go to the polls to choose a senator to represent them in Washington for the next six years, one candidate will already have won.

The winner is David Duke—by a landslide. When Duke finishes second to the incumbent Democrat J. Bennett Johnston on October 6, as expected, the former Ku Klux Klan leader will have taken significant steps to:

- Build a nationwide constituency around open race and ethnic divisions that will help catapult him to national office and the forefront of a growing class of sophisticated and successful far-right office-seekers; and,

- Channel economic frustration and anger against targeted ethnic groups, and move the debate on such issues as welfare, housing, drugs, education and taxes to the right.

By conventional political standards, Duke has done poorly in his first statewide race. He won a vacant state house seat in 1989 by fewer than 300 votes over a flaccid Republican opponent in an all-white suburban district. But in this year's Senate race, Duke peaked in the polls at about one-fourth of those surveyed and dropped to one-fifth with two weeks to go. Pollsters throw in five bonus points on behalf of voters who won't admit they're supporting Duke.

In Louisiana, one candidate must receive at least 50.1 percent of the primary vote or face the second-place finisher in a general election. Fortunately for Johnston, the state Republican-endorsed candidate, Ben Bagert, is running below 10 percent.

The national party has hung Bagert out to dry because they are afraid any votes he might get would take away from Johnston and put Republican Duke into the November runoff.

Republicans don't look forward to defending his presence in their ranks—even if it's the party of convenience for Duke, who ran for president in 1988 as a populist and for past offices as a Democrat. Knowing Bagert can't win, party regulars root for Johnston, the darling of the oil, chemical and nuclear industries.

But it's a mistake to gauge Duke's success by watching the finish line. Even the worst polls show that a man who once wore a Nazi uniform and celebrated Hitler's birthday into the late '80s is attracting at least one out of every five voters with his message. Duke is everywhere: on TV, in the

newspaper, on bumper stickers, yard signs, hats and, most importantly, on people's lips.

He draws large, enthusiastic crowds that roar approval at his attacks on welfare mothers and housing-project residents, and who sometimes cheer at the mention of the Klan. Although Duke now says his Klan involvement was a youthful indiscretion, he is always sure to mention it.

Racial tensions have worsened, with the Duke-word polarizing black-white social relations. Most troubling to some are Duke's enthusiastic high school and college-age supporters, who are too young to remember World War II or segregation, and earnestly believe Duke wants to help poor people help themselves.

Perhaps Duke's finest half-hour was a televised campaign commercial in which he discussed America's No. 1 problem: the "cancerous" underclass that is draining the economy of its vitality with a tidal wave of babies.

Duke rarely mentions black people specifically, but his supporters are getting the message. "Duke is right on target with the black issue," commented one, even though the majority of U.S. welfare recipients and drug users are white.

Duke has fed off a white backlash that was subtly reaped by both Reagan ("welfare queens and food stamp cheats") and Bush (Willie Horton), but he has also been a bolder advocate for its expression.

In many circles, it's being taken for granted that blacks, other minorities and, to a lesser extent, Jews are responsible for a lot of America's problems. It may now be impossible to get any elected official to speak positively of welfare benefits for the poor and unemployed. The Children's Defense Fund said that's a tragedy in a state that ranks 49th in personal income and 46th in welfare benefits at \$190 a month for a family of four.

Both candidates attack Duke, but not his positions. Johnston and Bagert ran anti-drug and pro-"workfare" commercials, Johnston claiming credit for passage of the federal workfare bill and Bagert claiming his own state bill. Bagert's commercial featured the candidate on a construction site slamming fist in hand to the refrain: "Get 'em off welfare."

While Duke's bills to ban affirmative action and minority set-asides, and to drug-test and evict housing-project residents, and increase sentences for residents convicted of drug crimes all failed to pass, the presence of his relentless voice was evident in the general tone of legislation that did pass.

Social programs couldn't get the time of day. Even the taxes passed reflected a preoccupation with race and an undeserving poor: sales taxes pay the bills in Louisiana. That way,

the poor pay for their own programs, the logic goes.

Most black politicians played into Duke's hands, placing greatest emphasis on minority set-asides and pet programs that have more to do with their personal business and political interests than the day-to-day struggles for survival of the average black family. They have failed to articulate an agenda that ties massive economic aid to poor black and white communities to Louisiana's prospects for improvements in the areas of crime, drugs, education, employment and living conditions.

The lack of a progressive alternative-agenda in Louisiana to fill the void caused by the joblessness, poverty and decline has given Duke a lot of running room. Rather than challenging corporate exploitation of the state's workforce, resources, environment and tax system, politicians have left Duke all alone in the end zone.

The media and Duke's opponents have been somewhat divided over how to handle the man. One school of thought says ignore him, because too much coverage will make him a martyr and boost his popularity; the other says unmask him with intense scrutiny. But scrutiny means free publicity, too.

The Louisiana Mobilization Against Racism and Nazism, a coalition of religious groups, Republicans and progressive groups has effectively exposed Duke's far-right background. But challenging his core issues will be more difficult and will take more time, says Pat Bryant, a long-time black activist and director of the Gulf Coast Tenants Organization. Bryant and others feel it is more important to go after the man's constituency than the man himself. Duke's candidacy is only a symptom of America's failure to deal constructively with its history of enslavement and oppression, whose results are on display in our inner cities, Bryant says.

White people have lost ground in the last 10 years, but not to blacks or other minorities. In fact, the gap between black and white incomes has remained about the same. But real earnings for all Americans have declined, while more two-earner couples go to work.

Duke is a bellwether for the nation, the Teflon white-supremacist who wears a business suit and deftly plays upon frustrations, deep-seated fears and prejudices. White-supremacist candidates have run for office more boldly, more bluntly and with greater success in the South and elsewhere. The office-holders of the past decade are largely to blame for this phenomenon. Their failure to use public resources to provide jobs and other opportunities has resulted in a continuing legacy of neglect for the less fortunate, which has resulted in a new and dangerous round of victim-bashing.

—Zack Nauth

By Gregory N. Heires

HARTFORD, CONN.

IN THIS MOST AFFLUENT STATE IN THE COUNTRY, proponents of desegregation are challenging a locally based statewide educational system that they charge is inherently unequal and has helped foster inner-city pockets of a permanent black and Hispanic underclass.

More than 35 years after the U.S. Supreme Court struck down "separate but equal" education in the landmark *Brown vs. Board of Education* case, Connecticut is among several states where the battle over desegregation and inequitable school financing is being waged in state, not federal, courts. In the past six months, courts in New Jersey and Texas have struck down school financing schemes, and alleged inequitable financing is being challenged in at least nine other states.

To fight segregation this time around, civil rights attorneys here are charging that the state's educational system violates the Connecticut Constitution because it has led to the concentration of minorities in poorer city schools and whites in more affluent suburban schools.

Specifically, the suit *Sheff vs. O'Neill* argues that the concentration of minorities in the Hartford public schools and whites in surrounding suburban schools violates guarantees of equal treatment under the law and free public education for all.

"What we envision is a system whereby Puerto Ricans and blacks and whites are educated together," said William Olds, executive director of the Connecticut Civil Liberties Union, which is supporting the suit.

Schools in Connecticut, like those in many states, are funded largely by local property taxes. Though the state pumps millions of dollars into poorer districts, the disparity in per pupil educational spending between affluent and poor communities varies enormously.

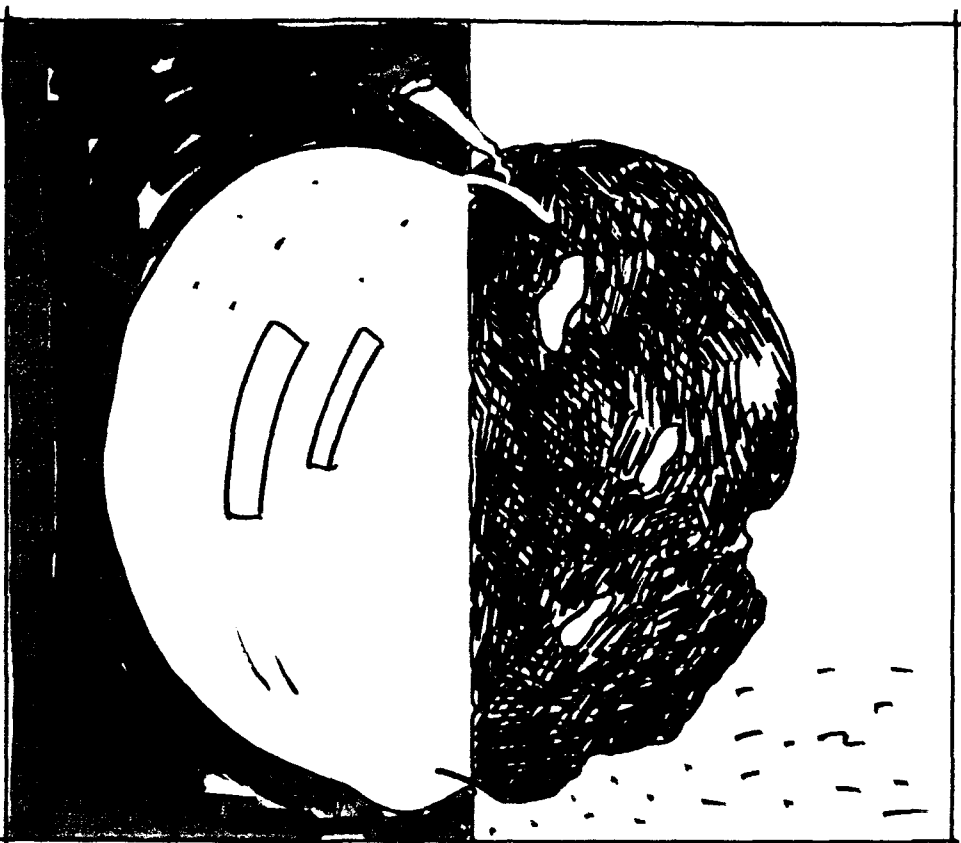
For instance, Westport in 1988-89 ranked first among the state's 169 towns and cities in per pupil educational spending, devoting \$8,299 to each of its students. Canterbury, which ranked the lowest, spent \$3,082, and Bridgeport, the state's largest city, allocated \$5,431.

In 1979, the Connecticut Supreme Court ordered the reform of the state's funding system in a case brought by Wesley W. Horton, the lead attorney in the current desegregation suit. A further restructuring could result if the court rules in favor of the plaintiffs in *Sheff vs. O'Neill*, which charges that the reformed financing system has failed to eradicate inequities.

Racism and underachievement: The chief plaintiff in the suit is Milo Sheff, a black elementary student in Hartford, the state capital, where 91 percent of the students are minorities. In the nearby communities of Granby and Suffield, minorities make up less than 4 percent of the school population. In Hartford, 47 percent of the students are regarded as at risk of dropping out because they come from families living below the poverty line, according to John C. Brittain, a University of Connecticut Law School professor working on the case.

"The racial segregation combined with a high percentage of highly poor children in the urban districts leads to underachievement," Brittain said.

Sheff, a sixth-grader at Annie Fisher School,



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Redefining segregation in a Connecticut court

where 99 percent of the students are black or Hispanic, says he would like the opportunity to meet students of all races. "What I am working on is having the schools mixed so I won't grow up to be a racist," he said.

The suit contends that Hartford cannot provide a comparable education to that of the richer suburbs because it has a concentration of children from poor or one-parent families. Many children are also disadvantaged, the suit claims, because they come from non-English-speaking families.

A 1988 report by the Hartford teachers union found that one in every eight classrooms in the city had class sizes larger than those permitted by contract. Hartford students are far less successful than their suburban counterparts when measured by high school dropout rates, test scores and the likelihood of going to college or being fully employed after graduation.

The suit also charges that white students from the suburbs are hurt by segregation because it denies them the opportunity to mix with and learn from minority students attending the Hartford schools. Six of the 17 plaintiffs are white children from all-white suburban schools near Hartford who contend their constitutional rights are violated because they don't have the educational and cultural experience that would result from integration.

The defendants in the suit are 10 state officials, including Gov. William A. O'Neill and Commissioner of Education Gerald N. Tirozzi. Ironically, Tirozzi, former superintendent of New Haven schools, has made desegregation a sort of personal crusade.

"Something is dramatically wrong in a state with all this affluence to have districts with 80 to 90 percent minority students," Tirozzi said before releasing a report on desegregation in 1988. "It's morally wrong, socially wrong and emotionally wrong."

The State Department of Education's report found that 80 percent of Connecticut's

minorities are concentrated in 14 of the state's 169 school districts.

A follow-up report called for voluntary policies to reduce racial isolation. The second report recommended the creation of magnet schools supported by contiguous

EDUCATION

cities and suburbs, enticement grants for joint building projects by cities and towns, increased funding for interdistrict programs, the encouragement of bias-free curricula and the establishment of a blue-ribbon commission to come up with other solutions.

But attorney Horton argues that students like the 11-year-old Sheff cannot wait for voluntary changes to be implemented.

Unconscious segregation: What distinguishes this case from *Brown vs. Board of Education* and other desegregation suits in the federal courts is that the plaintiffs aren't arguing that segregation was caused by a conscious decision to separate the races. Instead, the suit charges that segregation is a consequence of an educational system in which students are divided into districts with widely different economic and racial makeup.

In fact, the case goes to show that Connecticut itself is a story of contrasts. In his 1988 report, Commissioner Tirozzi spoke of "Two Connecticuts," one rich and one poor, and described a state in which minorities are concentrated in poverty-infested urban

The suit charges that segregation is a consequence of a racially divided educational system.

centers while whites live in wealthier suburbs.

Greenwich, the closest Connecticut town to New York City, is the gateway to the "Gold Coast" of beautiful mansions that dot Long Island Sound. The town was the childhood home of President Bush, who attended a local private elementary and junior high school before going to prep school and then enrolling at Yale University in New Haven.

Bridgeport, which has a higher per capita murder rate than New York City and the highest dropout rate in the state, is only 30 minutes away.

Sixty percent of the state's minority students are found in five school districts. Minority students account for 80 percent of the school population in Bridgeport, New Haven and Hartford, which are among the top 20 cities with the highest poverty levels in the country.

Hinging on intent: Lawyers on both sides are looking to cases outside Connecticut to bolster their arguments. Both sides agree that the case will probably focus on the issue of intent.

The plaintiffs' argument in *Sheff vs. O'Neill* is similar to that of a 26-year-old California desegregation suit, *Crawford vs. Board of Education of the City of Los Angeles*. The class-action suit brought by the Southern California American Civil Liberties Union and the NAACP on behalf of Los Angeles black school children, was upheld by the California Supreme Court, which ruled that the public school system was unequal and unconstitutional.

Although the California Supreme Court concluded that the district was guilty of segregation, its decision didn't hinge on the issue of intent.

Crawford vs. Board of Education led to busing and the creation of magnet schools. But busing was stopped after the court upheld Proposition I, a 1979 referendum approved by voters. Proposition I required that proof of violation of equal protection guarantees show intent—just like in federal cases.

Assistant Attorney General John R. Whelan, lead counsel for the defense in *Sheff vs. O'Neill*, argues that the suit is groundless because the state did not create the racial imbalance in the Hartford area and therefore has no obligation to change it.

Defense attorneys have found support for their argument in *Milliken vs. Bradley*, a Michigan school desegregation case.

In 1974, the U.S. Supreme Court overturned a state court's finding that the Detroit school system was segregated and must adopt a desegregation plan that included surrounding communities. The Supreme Court ruled that the state court could not implement a multidistrict solution without showing that districts near Detroit had acted to establish segregated schools.

If Connecticut Superior Court Judge Harry Hammer rules in favor of the plaintiffs, he might order a restructuring of the locally-based educational system or instruct state and local officials to come up with a solution, according to Horton.

Whatever the solution, the case shows that the issue of desegregation is still alive more than 35 years after *Brown vs. Board of Education*. □

Gregory N. Heires is a reporter with the *Waterbury Republican-American* in Connecticut. He has written articles on South America for *In These Times*.

Continued from preceding page

ican mainstream. Unlike other groups that immigrated to this country, the descendants of enslaved Africans have few familial or other explicit connections to the lands of their origin. This process of deracination has, in effect, left a gaping hole in the psyches of African-Americans. Afrocentric advocates are attempting to fill that hole.

"For too long we have been defined by a European reality, and we have defined ourselves as the Europeans have defined us," Asante says. "What Afrocentricity says is that we're responsible for our own fashions and motifs, for our own intellectual imagination. It tells us that it is correct for us—just as it is for Europeans—to begin seeing the world from the perspective of our own particular historical reality."

This new attitude is in vogue not only among educators and organizers, but also among young blacks who have embraced it with a fervor not seen since the '60s and early '70s. Rap groups, for example, are increasingly adopting Afrocentric themes, and they have transformed various insignia of pan-Africanism—kente cloth, African medallions, kofi hats, dreadlocks and sculptured natural hair styles—into major fashion statements.

"Sure, part of this new African emphasis among the youth is a fad, but it's a necessary one," says Haki Madhubuti, a Chicago-based writer, educator and publisher. "It forces those wearing it to question the reason for wearing it and what it represents. Even at its most superficial level, it puts something else on the minds of young black people."

Madhubuti should be particularly gratified by the current turn toward Africa. He has been urging such a change in consciousness since he published his first book of poetry—*Think Black*—more than 20 years ago. Since

then, in addition to writing 15 books, he has doggedly devoted himself to the "creation of African institutions that could nourish the spirit as well as the minds of African-American people." What's more, he accomplished this in a social atmosphere that was hardly encouraging.

The institutions he did create—the New Concept Development Center, the Institute of Positive Education, the African-American Book Center and Third World Press—are currently experiencing unprecedented growth. "There was never a doubt in my mind that black people would realize the need for independent institutions once they understood the need for a cultural grounding in concepts that relate to our particular historical experience."

Opposition: This emphasis on particularity is fueling the mainstream opposition to ideals of Afrocentricity. "There's no doubt that there has been a lot of bias in the curriculum over many years, but that doesn't mean everything in the curriculum isn't true," Diane Ravitch argued in a *Washington Times* interview.

Ravitch, a professor of education and history at Columbia University's Teachers College, was enlisted by New York's Sobel to comment on the task force report. "A new curriculum cannot be built around a proposal that demeans and caricatures the culture of which it is a part, and that disparages everyone who happens to have white skin," she added. She called the curriculum report "insensitive" and warned that the revisions it calls for could lead to new "distortions" of history.

Interviewed by the *New York Times* on the same subject, Ravitch challenged the notion that an inclusive curriculum would automatically improve the academic performance of

children from formerly excluded cultures. "If this is true, why do Asian-American children outperform every other group in the population, including white children? Self-esteem ultimately must derive from one's own hard work and accomplishments, not one's skin color."

Asian-Americans have never lost their cultural continuity, counters Jacob Carruthers, director of the Chicago-based Kemeti Insti-

tute and a leading Afrocentric scholar. "In many ways Ravitch makes our point. African-Americans are the only immigrant group that, by and large, has been left out of the American dream. And they are also the only group that has been completely cut off from their cultural heritage by a 250-year history of brutal slavery and total domination and by subsequent years of codified racist subjugation." □

Stasi

Continued from page 3
than the Stasi.

Passing the cloak: While demonstrators used nonviolent acts of political resistance—such as the Normannenstrasse occupation—to topple the old system last year, Kempe argues that now "it's clear what's being said: our acts are in breach of the law and are legally punishable. We've already been criminalized again by the Interior Ministry," he says, echoing the fear that their files will be reactivated. "It doesn't matter to us if it's called Stasi or ODC or FBI, the logic is that of the security state."

However correct Kempe's rationale, the parallel underlines the dilemma of singling out Stasi collaborators within an international context of a political system "legally" bolstered by their own security organs. The Kempes and the Bohleys, imprisoned and persecuted for their intransigence, were the few who refused to sign some Stasi document to keep their jobs. While the activists insist that they want "justice and not revenge," the anti-communist witch hunt has already begun in the schools, in factories, in

every sphere of society except the Stasi channels themselves. Among the former bureaucrats, many scarred from their days in Nazi prison camps, their perverse acts were sincerely executed in the name of "socialism." From the Nuremberg trials to the My Lai massacre case, the ethic of individual responsibility has been affirmed in name only, to go unobserved in deed.

The same questions and the daunting task of neutralizing the secret police apparatus has begun in Czechoslovakia. The pre-election bomb that exploded in downtown Prague attests to the disgruntled henchmen's potential violence. In Hungary, a new interior minister was installed to oversee the intact old structures. Most extreme, in the Yugoslavian republics and in Romania, the para-military police forces are still proping up the status quo with overt repression.

In the former Eastern European dictatorships, as well as Western bourgeois democracies, the shifting of personal responsibility to the faceless state serves only to perpetuate the structures of violence and authoritarianism. The East Germans are not alone in hiding from the implications of their obedience. □

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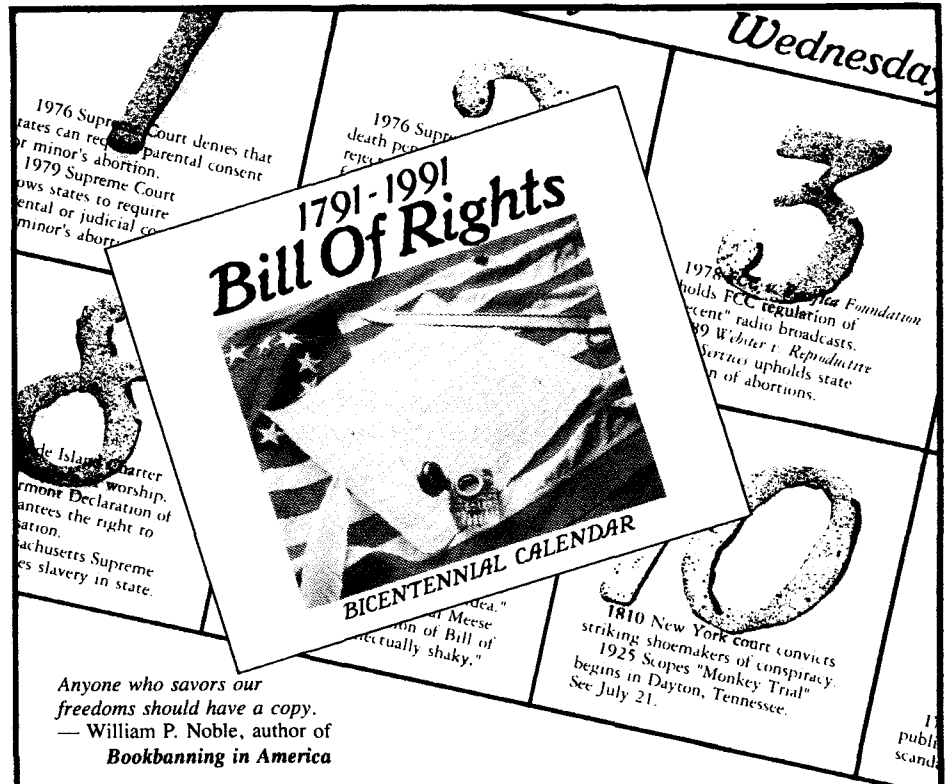
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Ignorance in the time of AIDS

By Daniel de Vise

THE U.S. PRISON SYSTEM IS PLAYING HOST TO an alarming rate of new AIDS cases, but prison officials are ill-equipped to handle the epidemic, AIDS-rights workers say.

Last year, for the first time ever, the rate of new AIDS cases in prison surpassed the general U.S. rate. A new report of AIDS in prison commissioned by the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) found a 72 percent leap in total AIDS cases from 1988 to 1989, with 5,411 cases now on record. In the general population, the corresponding increase was only 50 percent, with 110,333 known cases.

Experts trace the flood of new AIDS cases to intravenous (IV) drug use among prisoners, and AIDS workers fear that prison hospitals and staffs will be unequipped to handle the flood of new cases.

"Medical care in prison, in general, reads like a litany of horror stories," says Judy Greenspan, AIDS information coordinator for the American Civil Liberties Union's (ACLU) National Prison Project in Washington. "Compound it with HIV infection and you have something worse."

AIDS is a relatively new concern to the prison system. Few prisons had any AIDS policy before 1985, and the first AIDS-related lawsuits concerning prisoners were settled in 1986.

But according to Theodore Hammett, co-author of the NIJ report, AIDS itself is not new to U.S. prisons. Because of HIV's latency period, prisoners who develop AIDS today may have picked up the virus 10 or more years ago, he says.

"What we're seeing is what happened a long time ago," Hammett says. It's always been true that the proportion of prison inmates with AIDS has been higher than the proportion in the general population."

Poor treatment: The rise in reported AIDS cases has sparked irrational and often harsh treatment of HIV-infected inmates by prison officials, according to Greenspan. Rather than nurture the sick prisoners during their painful battle with AIDS, wardens often treat them to a display of superstitious ritual and overzealous caution reminiscent of the plague, she says. Guards assigned to escort HIV-infected prisoners usually wear protective masks, surgical gloves, plastic boots or full hygiene suits, fearing that mere physical contact with an infected prisoner will transmit the virus. They often shackle or physically restrain prisoners, fearing an attempt to bite, spit at or scratch the officer and thereby spread the HIV infection.

"There is some risk involved" in the routine handling of HIV-infected prisoners, Hammett says, "but it's quite a low risk."

Nonetheless, prison officials contend that the precautions are sensible and necessary.

They say that calm and reason are the rule at prisons and panic and superstition the exceptions.

"Sanity prevails," says Kevin McDonald, disease coordinator for the U.S. Bureau of Prisons. "Our policies and practices are dictated not by emotional factors but by epidemiological information. We've managed to stay this course."

Numerous courts have agreed, upholding potentially humiliating policies undertaken by guards and other prison officials. A Maryland judge permitted the words "AIDS Cell" to be marked on a cell containing a prisoner with AIDS. A Minnesota judge allowed guards to shackle prisoners with AIDS and wear surgical gloves while escorting them. The judge referred to AIDS as a "peculiar circumstance," an admission that spotlights the lack of a unified policy on handling AIDS and privacy disputes in prisons.

Forced ignorance: Often underlying prison policy is the belief that drug use and sex do not occur in prison, a blind spot that persists despite strong evidence to the contrary. A survey of Michigan prisoners found that 60 to 70 percent said they engaged in sexual relations during incarceration. Official prison documents, meanwhile, suggested that fewer than one percent of inmates had engaged in sex.

Michigan and several other states have denied prisoners condoms and other safe-sex devices—even as they approved AIDS-related education and counseling—because they claimed such actions run contrary to their policies.

Rather than confront sex and drug use among inmates, prison officials have opted for isolating prisoners.

In various states, prison officials have isolated not only prisoners with full-blown AIDS, but also groups of HIV-infected prisoners and even persons suspected of carrying the virus. In most cases, the courts have upheld these systems as constitutional, ruling that stopping the spread of the virus outweighs constitutional rights of prisoners dictated in the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment.

Legal defenders of persons with AIDS (PWAs) approve of isolating HIV carriers in certain circumstances, noting the potential for AIDS to spread in an unsupervised, integrated prison. Some HIV-infected prisoners sexually assault other inmates, thereby ex-

posing them to HIV infection. These "predators," as Hammett calls them, may be the primary source of spreading AIDS in prisons, and he says they should be isolated from other prisoners.

"But the vast majority of prisoners with HIV are not predators at all, and they should not be punished for having the virus," Hammett says. "They're being punished already."

An issue of privacy: Some prisons have adopted mandatory HIV tests as a catch-all defense against HIV predators and as a mechanism to spot carriers who do not know they are infected. Some prisons rely on the AIDS test as their only defense against the spread of the disease. Fifteen state prison systems and all federal prisons currently require AIDS tests.

Mandatory AIDS tests have come under fire because they are perceived as a threat to privacy rights. In Alabama, a court upheld a mandatory testing policy, ruling that stopping the spread of AIDS outweighed the right to privacy. Advocates for PWAs, though, insist that a voluntary testing program is just as good as a mandatory test and less intrusive. Furthermore, mandatory testing serves little purpose if it is not complemented with education and counseling programs, according to the ACLU's Greenspan.

"There's nothing worse than discovering you're HIV positive and not being able to do anything about it," says Greenspan. Many prisons, she notes, fail to provide early treatment and therapy for HIV-infected prisoners. Without such treatment, prisoners can become distraught, especially when they have no recourse but to sit and wait for full-blown AIDS to set in.

At the other extreme, some prisons choose to shut PWAs into prison hospitals, holding

Last year, for the first time ever, the rate of new AIDS cases in prisons surpassed the general U.S. rate.

them there even after their symptoms have receded. Such was the case in Massachusetts until the prisoners were integrated into the general prison population this year.

"The way it was working, as soon as someone was diagnosed with AIDS, they were moved out of the general population," says Robert Greenwald, an attorney with the Boston AIDS Action Committee. "Once they were sent to the hospital, there was no way out. They stayed after the point of time when they had recovered. Many individuals, as they got sicker, tried to hide their condition. They knew it was a one-way ticket."

But with integration into the general prison population, PWAs may be forgotten and left untreated. Or else they may undergo shoddy treatment at the hands of an unqualified medical staff.

"I don't approve of [integration] to the degree that they cannot guarantee the safety of PWAs and training the staff to provide adequate health care," says Greenwald.

Nearly all AIDS-in-prison experts agree that AIDS-related education is the key to stopping the spread of HIV. They also ask that prisoners have free access to condoms and latex barriers.

But AIDS education advocates have found little support in the prisons or the courts. New York and Connecticut courts have enforced AIDS education programs and a few other states have developed programs on their own, but they are often incomplete, outdated and poorly administered, critics say.

"The best way to stop AIDS in the prisons is through education, and that is exactly what the prison system is falling down on," says the ACLU's Greenspan. "They're showing outdated videos; they're handing out pamphlets that are way over the heads of prisoners or not written in language that the prisoner can understand."

Greenspan's National Prison Project has published a pamphlet for prisoners and prison staffs, entitled "AIDS and Prison: The Facts," that dispels common misconceptions about AIDS. The project hopes to change policy toward AIDS from the bottom up: starting with prisoners and guards, who must fight the day-to-day battle to halt the spread of AIDS.

"Corrections officers and prisoners say that because prison is so different from the free world, AIDS transmission inside prison must be different from what it is like on the outside," the pamphlet says. "This is not true. It will not fly across the room and infect you on its own."

The pamphlet continues: "We want to help each prisoner and officer fight the real enemy—which is AIDS, and not the phantom enemy—the fear of AIDS."

Daniel de Vise is a freelance writer based in Chicago.

Indian health disservice

By E.J. Levy

IT'S NO SECRET THAT AIDS IS AN UNCOMFORTABLE subject within the Indian Health Service (IHS)—the public health agency responsible for Native American health.

Off the record, sources in and close to the agency confirm that people within the IHS haven't even learned to say the "A-word." Misconceptions that AIDS is "a white man's disease" and that few Indians are gay or intravenous drug users and therefore at risk have compounded people's reticence to confront the issue head-on.

With only 194 AIDS cases among Indians recorded by the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) as of June 1990, many believe AIDS is simply not a problem for Indians. However, with the incidence of sexually-transmitted disease among Indians running two to four times higher than that of the general population, Native Americans are, in fact, at great risk for rapid transmission of HIV and—considering their generally depressed health—potentially for an AIDS epidemic.

"Given the low socio-economic and health status of Native Americans and the high incidence of substance abuse, it's safe to assume that we already have a population with compromised immune systems," says Ron Rowell, executive director of the National Native American AIDS Prevention Center (NNAAPC) in Oakland, Calif.

While documentation of intravenous drug use among Native Americans is scarce, a preliminary study conducted in one rural Indian community found that as much as 14 percent

of the community's 2,500 people were reportedly regular IV users—an "alarmingly" high incidence, concludes the study, which signals the "potential for rapid HIV transmission." A sample survey of Indians in alcohol treatment programs in Seattle taken early last year found 25 percent reported chronic or occasional IV drug use.

Unwritten truths: Similarly, there has been no comprehensive study done of sexual behavior among Indian peoples, although regular lesbian Sun Dances in the Southwest and the "Basket and Bow" gatherings of lesbian and gay Indians in the Midwest during the last several years attest to the existence of a vital Native gay and lesbian community.

Native Americans are, in fact, at great risk for rapid transmission of HIV and potentially for an AIDS epidemic.

At present, the majority of Native AIDS cases are thought to occur among urban Indians—those who have left their reservations for cities like Los Angeles, San Francisco, Minneapolis, Gallup and Tucson. As a result, health workers contend that AIDS does not pose a threat to Indians living in isolated rural communities like the pueblos of New Mexico.

In fact, there is no way of knowing which Indian communities are most affected by AIDS, since epidemiological reports specify only the state in which each case occurs in order to protect the privacy of Indians who, given the small number of AIDS cases, might otherwise be identified.

Available evidence indicates, however, that rural Indians are not isolated from risk. Sexual interaction is common at the annual Pow Wow and on the rodeo circuits—two cornerstones of Indian social life. In addition, a recent article by Rowell in *Drugs and Society* cites two studies that document a high level of interaction between urban and the so-called "isolated" rural Indians. Conducted in Minnesota and three Northwestern states, the studies reveal that as many as 51 percent of Indians on the reservation have had sexual contact with people off the reservation.

More recently, a 1990 CDC/IHS study of HIV seroprevalence among Alaskan Native and American Indian prenatal patients found .15 percent, or 1.5 in every 1,000 patients in their third trimester, to be HIV positive—a rate similar to that of the overall U.S.

A 1988 CDC study revealed Indians to have rates of HIV infection greater than or equal

to other racial groups in a variety of test settings. Indians had higher rates of infection than either blacks (by 11 percent) or whites (by 43 percent), according to data gathered from California statewide anonymous testing sites. Preliminary data taken from a survey of non-AIDS patients in a portion of the CDC's Sentinel Hospital System indicated that Indians were three times as likely to be HIV seropositive as others.

Erroneous zones: The discrepancy between high levels of HIV infection and low numbers of reported AIDS cases suggests to researchers that the AIDS count among Indians may be erroneous. George Conway, a CDC medical epidemiologist who designed seroprevalence surveys, speculates that the undercount may be partially due to the misregistration of Native Americans as Hispanics by hospital and clinic personnel. In some cases, however, Indians may be reluctant to describe themselves as Native American for fear of being referred back to a reservation for health care.

Whatever the source of the error, it is likely that the actual AIDS count is significantly higher than currently recognized. Many estimate that at least six new cases of AIDS occur among Indians each month—and the NNAAPC's Rowell cites a figure twice that high. "No matter what we do," adds E.Y. Hooper, AIDS coordinator for the IHS, "we know there's a harvest out there that's going to accrue to us. The numbers are only going to increase with time."

Despite the potential for an epidemic, until recently the IHS had neither a policy nor funding for AIDS prevention. While IHS Director Everett Rhoades announced a seven-point AIDS agenda following the 1987 Minority AIDS Conference in Atlanta, the IHS did not require its health facilities to have trained counselors available for HIV testing and counseling until 1988. And it wasn't until fiscal 1989 that the IHS appropriated \$258,000—about 25 cents per person—for AIDS education and prevention.

Hooper contends that limited financial and human resources are responsible for his agency's "belated" response. "There is so much that is affecting the morbidity and mortality of Indians that it's hard to get resources together to combat AIDS," he says. "In certain parts of the country, they don't have the resources to do adequate prenatal care for women or to treat acute types of illnesses. Doctors there are saying, 'We acknowledge the risk of AIDS, but we don't have time to deal with [it].'"

In order to provide funding for AIDS-related programs, the IHS must divert human and financial resources intended for other purposes, adds Hooper. Lacking monies to hire additional full-time employees, developing the programs falls to already overtaxed health providers. Hooper, for example, maintains his position as director of continuing education while acting as AIDS coordinator. When the IHS received a special \$350,000 grant from the CDC to train health workers in HIV testing and counseling in 1988, the agency had to "rob \$3 million to \$4 million from other services" to implement the program, says Hooper.

But limited resources only partially explain the IHS' reluctance to tackle AIDS. Not until fiscal year 1990—three years after Rhoades announced his agenda and nearly a decade into the epidemic—did the agency request AIDS funding, a delay attributed in part to ignorance. Rhoades told a congressional subcommittee in 1988 that until an

effective vaccine or therapy was developed. "throwing money at AIDS ... is not going to do anything about the incidence of AIDS."

"It's not that we're not concerned about prevention," responds Patricia DeAsis, director of communications for the IHS. "But when we start talking about an extremely limited number of people who have AIDS—when people are dying from diseases that are preventable—it doesn't make sense to focus on AIDS." In short, not enough Indians have died yet.

Cool miscalculations: It was this sort of cool miscalculation on the part of the IHS that spurred a group of concerned health workers, including Ron Rowell, to investigate Indian AIDS prevention in 1987. "There was no official response anywhere," says Rowell of that time. "IHS representatives were actually going around the country saying, 'AIDS isn't a problem for Indians.'"

Rowell attributes the lack of IHS response to the current administration's conservative ideology. Pointing out that Rhoades is a Reagan appointee, Rowell asserts that the IHS is staffed largely by "missionaries for whom sex is a very nasty subject. Instead of advocating for Indian health," he adds, "they are fighting this every step of the way."

While the IHS was unable to fund Rowell's proposal for a national Native American AIDS Prevention Center in 1987, the CDC provided monies the following year, enabling NNAAPC to begin distributing information and coordinating AIDS studies among Indians. And in 1989, the center opened a hotline staffed by Native Americans to provide AIDS information, counseling and referrals specific to Indian communities.

Since January 1989, NNAAPC staff members have conducted three-day training sessions that bring together tribal health workers, urban Indian health agency directors, activists and others to learn, network and strategize about ways to prevent the spread of HIV in their communities. The training sessions remind participants that they themselves—not doctors or administrators—are the experts, and, according to Rowell, only this kind of self-determination will improve Indian health care in the long run.

Although critical IHS support in the fight against AIDS is still largely absent, there are signs the agency is coming around. In September, the IHS in Albuquerque conducted a workshop on safe sex practices at the Southwestern Indian Polytechnic Institute, and the Public Health Service has released funding for AIDS education among individual tribes. For the first time, the IHS has appointed an AIDS coordinator with a relevant background.

Most importantly, the IHS, in coordination with the CDC, is continuing to pursue seroprevalence surveys that should in time provide sufficient documentation of HIV infection among Indians to convince the IHS to increase funding. But the studies will take time, and the infection continues to spread.

Even an accurate count of Indian AIDS cases could not gauge the threat the virus poses to these vulnerable communities, a threat best expressed by Terry Tafoya, a therapist originally from Taos Pueblo in New Mexico: "We don't think in terms of five- or 10-year plans," says Tafoya. "We think of the impact to the seventh generation. If we don't get word out to the Native American community about AIDS, there won't be a seventh generation." □

E.J. Levy is a freelance writer currently based in New York.



JNX, Rick Reason

Squeezing the government for an ounce of prevention

One bit of good news about AIDS: it now costs much less to treat people who have the HIV virus than it does to treat people who have contracted the full-blown disease.

Such early treatment could delay—and maybe even prevent—the onset of AIDS. Once someone develops AIDS, medical treatment climbs to between \$20,000 and \$60,000 a year, depending on the availability of outpatient services. In contrast, pre-AIDS treatment now runs about \$5,500 a year, down from \$9,600 last September.

Not surprisingly, half of the people who need pre-AIDS treatment can't afford it. That means the federal government has a clear economic choice: step in now or risk letting those with the virus contract the disease.

Pre-AIDS treatment consists of counseling, general monitoring and, for people whose CD4 white blood cell count falls below 500 (per cubic millimeter of blood), administering the drug zidovudine, also called AZT.

While AZT drug therapy is the most expensive facet of pre-AIDS care, the recommended dosage has been cut from 1,200 to 500 milligrams a day, and the manufacturer, Burroughs-Wellcome, has dropped the price by 20 percent, largely due to political pressure. An annual dose of the drug now costs about \$2,750.

The price of another important pre-AIDS drug—trimethoprim-sulfamethoxazole—also has decreased. Those with the HIV virus whose CD4 count drops below 200 require medication to prevent *Pneumocystis carinii* pneumonia, the most common and serious opportunistic disease associated with AIDS. Doctors prescribe either a

fancy new drug—aerosolized pentamidine—for \$2,500 a year, or the old-fashioned trimethoprim-sulfamethoxazole (one brand name is Septra) for \$250. Because new evidence has shown that the older drug is more effective, many doctors are switching back to it. Unfortunately, about 20 percent of patients who receive the drug are allergic to it, and so must stick with aerosolized pentamidine, which must be administered via a costly machine called a nebulizer.

While pre-AIDS treatment is now considered standard practice, getting it isn't. Henry Greeley, an associate professor at Stanford Law School, estimates that roughly 50 percent of HIV-infected people have private, employment-related health insurance that should cover 80 percent of their costs. The patients absorb the remaining costs, most of which consist of prescription drug co-payments.

The remaining 250,000 to 550,000 HIV-infected people are left standing in the cold. Medicare, available only to the elderly and the long-term disabled, will not cover them. And Medicaid—available to recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), the elderly and the seriously disabled—covers only AIDS patients not on AFDC because they are considered presumptively disabled. In addition, they are eligible for Medicaid only after they "spend down" their resources.

Peter Arno, an economist who studies the impact of AIDS on the health care system at the Montefiore Medical Center in the Bronx, sees a pattern in who receives preventative treatment and who does not.

"It's like the rest of our health care system," says Arno. "There is differential access based on social class: middle-class

gay white men on the coasts are getting care ... poor, black and Hispanic people and intravenous drug users are not getting care."

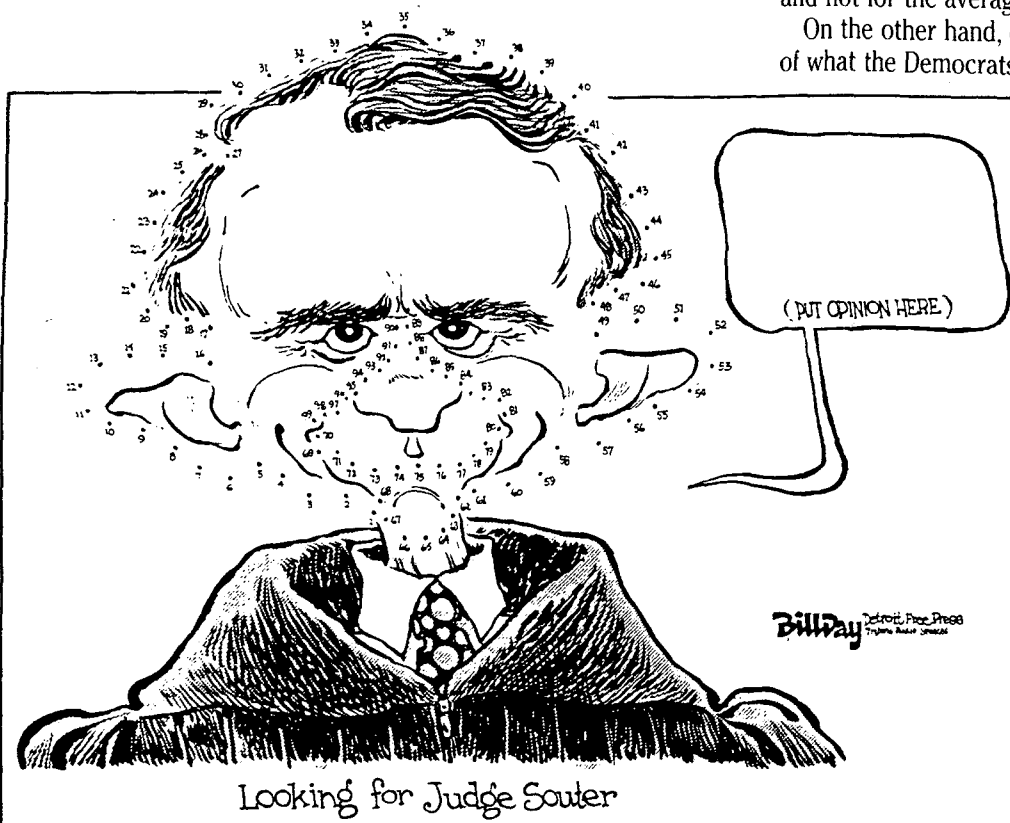
If federal and state governments don't pay for pre-AIDS treatment now, they will surely pay for it later, when those infected come to public hospitals seeking help for serious opportunistic infections. Treatment costs may fall, but so may the costs of prevention. For example, new prophylactic drugs like dideoxyinosine (ddi) and inosine pranobex may prove safe and effective. And Burroughs-Wellcome may be forced to again lower the cost of zidovudine. The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) is considering a lawsuit challenging Wellcome's 17-year use patent, as many believe U.S. government scientists at the National Cancer Institute and Duke University—not Wellcome employees—discovered the compound's HIV-fighting properties.

On September 12, a Senate appropriations subcommittee authorized just \$110 million for HIV-positive health care, gutting the \$875 million authorization bill approved by negotiators from both houses of Congress on August 3. Spread thin over the next two years, the money has yet to be allocated.

Getting preventive care to the 50 percent of HIV-infected people who can't afford it would cost \$500 million a year—well below 1 percent of what the federal government spends on health care annually. AIDS has taught us a cruel lesson: an ounce of prevention is worth 10 pounds of cure. We either spend this money now, or regret it later.

—Rhona Mahoney

EDITORIAL



Looking for Judge Souter

What do voters want?

The warning flares from voting booths and polling tallies indicate that voters in the U.S. are increasingly disenchanted with the overall course of the country and the direction of its political leaders. But the same flares indicate that neither the voters nor their leaders know where to go.

The incomplete triumph of conservatives over the past decade has resulted in a crippling political gridlock. Democrats cling to an ideologically mushy margin of power in Congress, but year by year they lose ground with U.S. public opinion. While more trusted on some key issues (environment, health, education, social security) than the Republicans, the Democrats are seen as incapable of running government in a way that delivers economic growth and strength. At the same time, the Republicans cannot fully capitalize on the Democrats' weakness because voters increasingly see the GOP as the party of the rich, out of touch with the needs of "people like me."

These are a few of the implications of the just-released 1990 edition of an opinion survey conducted since 1987 by the Times Mirror Center for The People and The Press. While the survey forecasts no widespread threat to Democrats running for office this fall, it clearly indicates a rapid downward trajectory for the party as a whole. Democrats are spared disaster only because of core Republican weaknesses and voters' inclination to support their own incumbent member of Congress, even if they have no use for Congress as a whole. But buried within the gloomy news for Democrats is an opportunity for the party to seize if it wants to flourish.

In the few years since the survey series began, there has been a dramatic increase in feelings of political alienation, distrust of officials and powerlessness, equally matched by growing personal hopelessness and economic worries. Such despair has grown mostly—as one might expect—among the poor and middle-income groups. But what is striking is the rapid increase in disaffection among lower-income whites to levels approaching that of blacks. Such alienation, however, seems to have produced not a new level of support for Democrats, but just the opposite—an erosion of support from some of its core constituencies, identified in Times Mirror typology as New Dealers (largely older, blue-collar whites) and the Partisan Poor (largely big-city blacks).

In the past few years, the Republicans have won an increasingly clear, though mostly unfavorable image. In volunteered responses, 51 percent (up from 18 percent in 1987) of those polled by the Times Mirror saw the Republicans as the party of the rich, powerful, monied interests, and 28 percent (up from 5 percent) saw it as "not for the people." Others saw the party as conservative (44 percent, up from 21 percent), and business-oriented (24 percent, up from 13 percent). But since more Americans identify themselves as conservative rather than liberal, and since the percentage of Americans who identify themselves as business supporters has grown from 29 to 41 percent over the past three years, those images are not clearly unfavor-

able. Yet it is the nagging sense that the Republicans are for the rich and not for the average person that holds back the Republican tide.

On the other hand, comparatively few voters have any clear image of what the Democrats stand for, and what image they do have is almost all bad. Only 16 percent of respondents, down from 21 percent, said the Democrats were for working people, striking at the heart of Democratic hopes for a political identity. The only other image of any significance was liberal, virtually unchanged at 17 percent.

Despite Cold War thaws, the major self-identification of those polled was "anti-communist" (down from 70 to 60 percent, but still strong among traditional Democrats), followed by identification as a supporter of civil rights (45 percent); environmentalism (43 percent); business, the anti-smoking movement (41 percent); Democrats (31 percent); the anti-abortion movement (31 percent); and feminism (30 percent).

The Cold War's decline is likely to mend Democratic and open Republican divisions, and Democrats are likely to gain overall from being pro-choice, while Republicans become more deeply torn by abortion politics.

But there is one gaping hole in the middle of the Democratic Party that will sink its fortunes until well and properly filled: the Democrats need an identity, based on sound policy and unwavering strategy, as managers of the economy for competitiveness, growth and good jobs for working people. Despite the growth in pro-business sentiment, distrust of corporations remains high. Democrats can be supporters of businesses that are socially responsible, but they must also become reliable critics of corporate excess, bulwarks against the rich getting richer while the poor get poorer (as 78 percent of voters believe is now true), and defenders of working people—their vanishing historic claim. They must grapple head-on with fundamental American political ambivalence and voters who greatly distrust government, yet look to it for a better society.

Voters have turned away from the Democrats not simply because they are incompetent, as the Times Mirror survey suggests. More fundamentally, even pro-Democratic voters do not believe the party's leaders stand for supposed traditional Democratic values—or for much at all. On that count, voters are quite right to be disenchanted.

Un-Soutered for court

Judge David Souter was informed at the outset of the Senate hearings on his nomination to the Supreme Court that he bore the burden of proof of fitness for the high post. In the face of flimsy objections that his legal record lacked the bell-ringer controversial positions of a Robert Bork, he tried to show he wasn't a "19th-century man"—a loner without social experience or compassion. Such image-making and evasive testimony will probably prove sufficient for a smooth sail through the Senate, but mere political momentum is no excuse for approval.

Although on some points Souter seemed more moderate than expected, his record and his testimony raise doubts about his defense of individual rights—including the right of privacy—and his willingness to use the court to protect the disadvantaged from the prejudices of the powerful and the majority. When polls show widespread public support for censorship, violation of due process and persecution of unpopular speech, the Court must above all defend the rights of individuals and minorities. While commenting on many issues that would come before him as a justice, Souter selectively waffled on the key question of how he views the *Roe v. Wade* decision guaranteeing women the right to an abortion. While it is appropriate to shelter the Court from overt political pressures, it is a charade to pretend that politics has no influence. The law is not some mystery of divination. Senators should recognize that the values a justice brings to the bench help shape the law.

Ultimately, the most important decisions will be won or lost in the political arena, which eventually influences the Court. And as the Supreme Court becomes less reliable, the majorities against restrictions on the right to abortion continue to grow. Even if approved, David Souter may not have the decisive vote after all.

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LETTERS

The new Joads

RICHARD HILL'S ARTICLE "GRADES OF WRATH" (*ITT*, Sept. 19) struck a raw nerve. A few years back, after I'd left behind nearly 10 years as a "temporary" assistant professor at Michigan State University, I'd entertained writing an article titled "The New Slavery: Teaching Writing in America." Time and honest work blunted the impulse, but Hill's short story described the condition of American writing teachers all too well, with wrenching poignancy beneath the wit.

One presidential commission after another bemoans the fact that Johnny can't write, yet teachers of writing in this nation remain second-class citizens at best. Approximately 60 percent of the writing teachers in our higher education system are itinerant labor, as Hill's story more than suggests. These are Ph.D.s and ABDs, for the most part, who have devoted a substantial portion of their lives in order to become college and university teachers. For most, though, it's an empty dream. The great majority are thrown into a pool of vagabond "temporaries" who work for the bottom of the scale year after year, with no job security, usually without benefits—all for the sake of a precious annual appointment that will allow them to teach for another year.

As in Hill's story, many become pathetic figures, crisscrossing the nation year after year in search of another appointment, often dragging spouses and children in their wake—the new Joads. They're grateful for the scraps of academia.

It's a good deal for universities. Cheap labor, often ineligible for Social Security, yet frequently skilled and motivated teachers—until the system grinds them down.

It's a story worth telling. Hill began it. I wonder if *In These Times* would consider writing the next chapter in greater depth.

Jack Helder
Williamston, Mich.

The exploding sheikh

JOH. BLEIFUSS' USEFUL COLUMNS ON THE ORCHESTRATION of war fever in the nation's leading periodicals (*ITT*, Sept. 12, 19) could be augmented with material on the demonizing of Saddam Hussein. One notable example is a column by Jim Hoagland in the September 6 *Washington Post* headlined "Diplomacy, Saddam Style."

The column opened with a story about an incident in 1971, when Saddam was involved in negotiations with Mustafa Barzani, the leader of rebel Kurds. According to Hoagland, Saddam sent seven religious leaders from Baghdad to talk with Barzani. Saddam's security chief asked one of the sheikhs to wear a hidden tape recorder to the meeting with Barzani, instructing the sheikh to push a particular button when he got close enough to Barzani.

In fact, according to Hoagland, the "tape recorder" was a bomb. But "fate saved Barzani" because the sheikh pushed the button "just as a tea server moved in front of Barzani." Hoagland wrote that Barzani told him the story of the "exploding sheikh" in 1973.

This, I thought, was a great story. Then I thought about it. I didn't recall reading the story in any of the demonizations of Saddam that had been published since the

invasion of Kuwait. (Later I used the NEXIS research service to find out whether I had missed the story. I had the computer search for stories after July 1 with Saddam's name and some version of "explode." Only Hoagland's column came up with the story of the exploding sheikh.)

Then, my lawyer's instincts led me to wonder about the credibility of Barzani's account. Obviously the exploding sheikh didn't tell Barzani what had happened. Perhaps one of the other emissaries did, though then you have to think about the seating arrangements for the tea service, which led to the deaths of only the exploding sheikh and the tea server (how come the other sheikhs were sitting in places where none of them was injured?). Or, though it seems unlikely, maybe Saddam or his security chief told Barzani what they had done.

Hoagland said in his column that the story "stayed with" him since 1973. Just to check, I used the NEXIS service again. It came up with 33 stories Hoagland had written since 1979 mentioning Saddam Hussein and 12 mentioning the Kurds. Two of the stories included fairly substantial portraits of Barzani, but in none of them did Hoagland tell the story of the exploding sheikh.

My search was incomplete, of course. Hoagland may have written about the exploding sheikh in some publication not included in the NEXIS data base. The story is so terrific, though, that I would expect that it would have become part of the demonization of Saddam if it had been circulated at all widely.

I don't mean to suggest that the sheikh never exploded. I suspect that Barzani told the story to Hoagland in 1973, and that Hoagland too was a bit suspicious of it—it really does sound like something you would read in a novel you pick up to read on an airplane. So, even though the story is really good, and stayed with Hoagland, he found himself able to make his points about Saddam without using the story of the exploding sheikh, until now.

Unfortunately, the story is almost too good. Maybe it happened, but I for one wouldn't build it into the picture I have of Saddam Hussein.

Mark Tushnet
Professor of Law, Georgetown University
Washington, D.C.

Letting down the barrier

THE WALL OF SEPARATION BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT and the free press was recently breached by two major metropolitan New York news organizations. Although, as has often happened in the past, the cause was

war and military mobilization, this time it was the news media—not the government—that pounded a hole in the barrier.

After the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and the deployment of U.S. military forces to Saudi Arabia, a New York City all-news radio station, WCBS, and a Newark-based daily newspaper, the *Star-Ledger*, launched a campaign to encourage the sending of letters to American troops. Specifically solicited were missives addressed to "Any Serviceman" to be sent in care of the two media to a Newark post office box; eventually, in coordination with military and postal authorities, these letters would be delivered to the overseas troops. Importantly, the solicitations were accompanied with stories about the harsh conditions of the Saudi desert and the soldiers' privations.

These actions represent the active participation of news organizations in governmental policy, transcending mere editorialization. The danger of affirmatively organizing on behalf of the government may be seen later, when the policy has turned sour. At that point, the editorial board may be faced with the difficult task of opposing a policy the organization had previously supported. Needless to say, such a history could inhibit the editorial board from taking a novel, critical perspective.

The more prudent role of the news media is to objectively report current events and to take positions, whether favorable or not to the government, in clearly designated editorials. The taking on of active, mobilizing work in support of government policies is outside the scope of the news media's proper role.

William Volonte
Dunneilen, N.J.

Questions and answers

DAVID STEINBERG IS UPSET THAT ONE OF YOUR readers expressed the view that U.S. taxpayer money should be cut off from human-rights violators, be they in Central America or the Middle East. (Letters, Sept. 12). He then asks a number of questions that should not go unanswered.

Steinberg asks: Does Israel have death squads?

Answer: Yes. Every day, units of the Israeli Army bring death and destruction to the West Bank and Gaza.

Steinberg asks: Is Israel a police state...?

Answer: Yes—check out the military gear on the backs of Israeli soldiers policing the streets of Nablus.

Steinberg asks: ...with no meaningful political choice...

Answer: That's right—no meaningful

political choice for Palestinians in the Occupied Territories.

Steinberg asks: ...run for the benefit of a couple dozen families to the detriment of an impoverished majority of citizens?

Answer: That's right—run for the benefit of settler families to the detriment of the majority Palestinian population.

Al Daniels
Washington, D.C.

More that's fit to print

NO DOUBT BERTRAM KORN JR., WRITING AS EXECUTIVE director, Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting in America, is as entitled as anyone else to deliberate obfuscation or error, but his rather pretentious title seems to give one license to object to his inaccuracies (Letters, Sept. 19).

Israel and her friends would have it understood that the 1982 invasion of Lebanon was "...in response to continuous terrorist raids by Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) forces in Lebanon," but would have it forgotten that those raids had been in recess for the 11 months preceding the invasion. Many feel that Israel's invasion was as much a response to this peaceful self-control by the PLO as it was in memory of earlier "continuous" raids. To forget the 11-month cease-fire, better observed by the PLO than by Israel, is hardly the mark of one dedicated to "accuracy" in reporting.

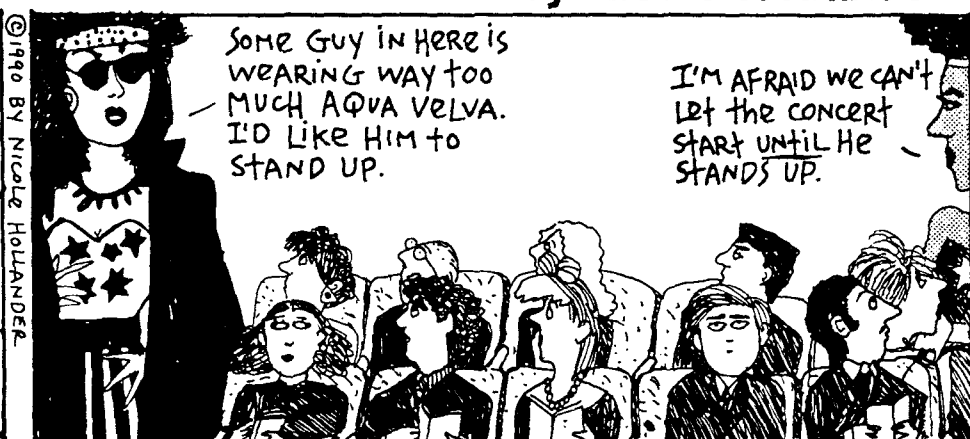
Even Israel's claim that the 1967 war was begun by Arab militance is subject to challenge: not only did Israel fire the first shots of that war, a fact universally agreed to today, but arguably had begun the serious provocations in its shooting down of six Syrian MiGs near Damascus in April 1967.

It is a pity that the Arab states have not followed the PLO in accepting U.N. Resolution 181 (1947), thus accepting the same definition of Israeli legitimacy that Israel accepted in its declaration of statehood and its later entrance application to the U.N. If they were to do so today, a peaceful end to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait might be found and a beginning made to a peaceful end of the Arab-Israeli conflict. But, in all but its economic impact, the latter invasion cannot compare to Israel's invasion of 1982.

Peter A. Belmont
Lexington, Mass.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

SYLVIA



New book exposes Mossad's underbelly

The Israeli government's extraordinary efforts to suppress U.S. and Canadian publication of a book about its secret service, the Mossad, would seem to be pure folly. The book—banned in the U.S. on September 12 and then freed for distribution by a New York State appeals court the following day—instantly became a cause célèbre, guaranteeing wide publicity for its revelations.

It doesn't take prolonged study of the book, *By Way of Deception*, by former Mossad officer Victor Ostrovsky, written with Canadian journalist Claire Hoy, to see why the Israeli government panicked.

Some of the disclosures lend substance to what many have long suspected. The book says that—contrary to numerous denials—the Mossad does have an elite team operating inside the U.S., and that its agents bug phones and routinely filch government documents. Ostrovsky describes how aides to U.S. senators on military committees are enlisted to monitor materials of interest to Israel: "If an aide was Jewish, he or she would be approached as a *sayan*," later defined by Ostrovsky as "a volunteer Jewish helper outside Israel." The Mossad has always strenuously denied use of *sayans*, for obvious reasons. But the real dynamite comes in the final chapter, titled "Beirut."

In 20 terse pages, Ostrovsky flatly states the following:

- The Mossad withheld from the CIA information on the whereabouts of U.S. hostages in Beirut and the identity of their captors; and
- The Mossad knew from its Beirut agents that Shi'ite Moslems were, in 1983, preparing a truck for a suicide bombing, but delib-

erately withheld details of the truck's appearance that would have enabled sentries to spot it, stop it and thus save the lives of 241 U.S. Marines.

These claims are politically explosive. U.S. hostages still languish in Beirut, and

ASHES & DIAMONDS

By Alexander Cockburn



the Americans was, 'Hey, they want to stick their nose into this Lebanon thing, let them pay the price.' This stance, according to Ostrovsky, was what prompted Mossad to suppress details about where the hostages were and who was holding them: "The attitude was, 'Hey, we showed them. We're not going to be kicked around by the Americans.'"

Even before the Israeli government's attempt to stop the book, its U.S. publisher was exercising caution. Prior to the court imbroglio in New York, book editors got a letter from the publicity director of St. Martin's Press saying that the prepublication galley proofs already sent out "contained a small quantity of information that will not be included in the final published version." She enclosed four replacement pages. What had been excised were assertions by Ostrovsky that there had been a high-level Israeli go-ahead for the 1982 massacres by Christian Lebanese forces at the Sabra and Shatila Palestinian camps.

The president of St. Martin's Press, Roy Gainsburg, told me that lawyers had been concerned about Gen. Ariel Sharon's lawsuit against *Time* magazine, which had made assertions about Sharon's role in the massacre. *Time* won on a technical point, but still faced defense costs soaring into seven figures.

Ostrovsky asserts that he is going public about what he learned in his four-year stint in the Mossad because the agency has "betrayed" its trust and set Israel "on a collision course with all-out war." Today, many suspect that the Israeli government would like all-out war as soon as possible between the U.S. and Iraq, with Israel possibly using this as the pretext to expel Palestinians from the Occupied Territories into Jordan. Some even fear that Israel could engineer a provocation to start such a war. The Mossad described by Ostrovsky is capable of such an act. Perhaps that is why such unwonted efforts—this is the first time a foreign government has tried to exercise prior restraint here—have been made to keep Americans and Canadians from reading the book.

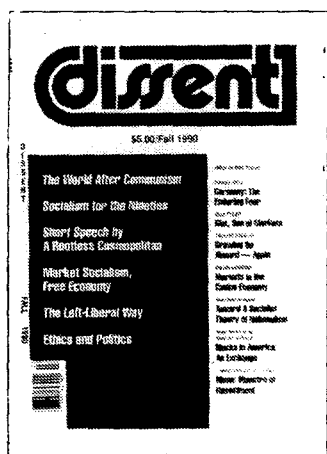
A more efficient attack on the book would have been an assault on Ostrovsky's credentials. Belatedly, Israel and freelance exponents of the Israeli government's position in the U.S. took this approach. They said Ostrovsky was a mere trainee without any knowledge of the highly classified operations he describes. Ostrovsky has responded that although he now fears for his life, the Israeli government did him the favor of conceding in its court papers that he had been in the Mossad.

Normally, the Israeli government might have flatly denied that he had anything to do with Mossad. Ostrovsky says that he went through training and was briefly a case officer before resigning in disgust after he fell athwart internal politicking in the Mossad. He says that during his training, Mossad case officers freely described many of the operations outlined in the book, and that these descriptions were buttressed by prolonged research by himself and Hoy during the preparation of the book.

He also says that his prime motive is to alert Israelis that Mossad is an agency out of control. Ostrovsky told an interviewer for National Public Radio—who was more interested in examining whether he was a traitor than in discussing the book's revelations—that Jews, above all people, should be wary of being bound by official lying. ■

Distributed by Alexander Cockburn

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U.S. troops are, just as the Marines were in 1983, deployed in the Middle East. Suppose the Mossad knew of an impending terrorist attack; would it similarly sit on its information?

Even with unimpeded distribution of *By Way of Deception*, the Israeli government and the Mossad are certain to challenge fiercely Ostrovsky's assertions, although the very efforts at suppression lend credence to the charges.

Ostrovsky is very specific. On the matter of the Beirut truck, he says that an informant "told the Mossad about a large Mer-

The Mossad has an elite team operating inside the U.S., and its agents bug phones and routinely filch government documents.

cedes truck that was being fitted out by the Shi'ite Moslems with spaces that could hold bombs ... even larger spaces than usual for this, so that whatever it was destined for was going to be a major target.... The question then was whether or not to warn the Americans to be on particular alert for a truck matching this description."

Ostrovsky says that, whereas Israeli installations were given "specific details" about the truck, Mossad, "in refusing to give the Americans specific information, said, 'No, we're not there to protect Americans. They're a big country. Send only the regular information.'" The "regular information" meant only a vague warning about the possibility of an attack.

Ostrovsky adds that in the wake of the explosion, Mossad's "general attitude about

INTERVIEW

By James Petras

TABARE VAZQUEZ WAS ELECTED MAYOR of Montevideo, Uruguay's capital city, on Nov. 13, 1989, as a candidate of the Socialist Party and a left coalition known as the Broad Front. Since his election, Vazquez has energized and inspired a vast popular constituency that goes far beyond the Uruguayan left's traditional 20 percent support.

In July, a public opinion poll in Montevideo gave him a 55 percent approval rating, a tribute to Vazquez' determination to build democracy from the bottom up. Vazquez sees municipal reform and popular power as part and parcel of a socialist transformation in his country. This marks him off as a unique politician in Latin America. The following interview was conducted July 9 in Montevideo.

What is the political situation in which you are governing?

I was elected at the same time the Blanco Party won the national election and formed a right-wing government opposed to our program. Their policies are oriented toward privatization and turning Uruguay into a financial center. Our policy is oriented toward a productive economy with a strong and efficient public sector.

What are the major projects your government plans to undertake?

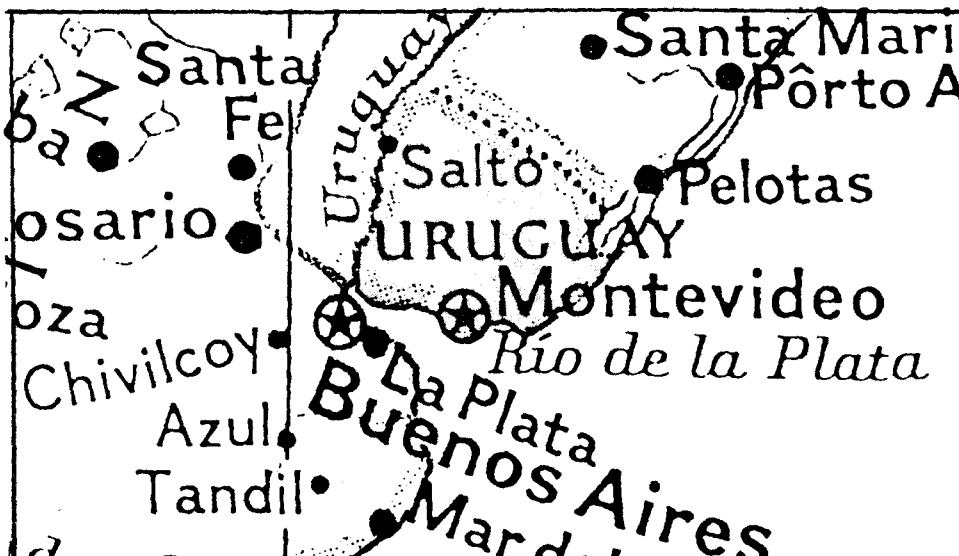
Here in Montevideo, we have one-half of the population of the country and the changes must come from civil society. To realize this, we propose to increase popular participation through neighborhood organizations, involve municipal workers directly and give government agencies an active role. We are introducing a new structure of power through our plan to decentralize decision-making in which neighborhoods will have the power to initiate policies, make decisions and control their implementation.

We have a centralist tradition, a long history of executive decision-making. Within the existing governmental statutes we can decentralize the administration, disperse the administrative agencies throughout the city into 18 zones, bringing the agencies closer to the elected community councils (*centros comunales*). But administrative decentralization does not solve the problem of power.

How do you propose to deal with this opposition from the national government?

As mayor of Montevideo, I can create agencies for specific tasks. These agencies can delegate functions to community groups. The second stage in the transfer of power involves the transfer of power to zonal delegates. That is the extent of decentralization under the present constitution. Nevertheless, we will form neighborhood councils elected by the residents to rule. We have to change the constitution to allow for councils to be directly elected and not simply reflect the power of the national parties.

Montevideo is highly polarized. The mortality rates of infants and mothers varies greatly. The lowest infant mortality rates are in the ocean-front neighborhoods and the highest in temporary housing. We are proposing a graduated property tax with higher rates on high-income real estate to fund social housing for low-income families. There are 38,000 unoccupied houses in the city. We are introducing legislation to tax unoccupied houses at four times the rate



Tackling municipal reform and popular power in Montevideo

as occupied housing. The same goes with unoccupied land held by real estate speculators in the city with access to light and water. Our policy is to use the real estate tax policy to redistribute wealth to serve the urban needs of the working class.

Who will decide the "needs" of the working class?

We identify necessities through popular consultations, popular assemblies in the neighborhoods. There is a great deal of enthusiasm and big turnouts at the neighborhood meetings. Currently, the major real estate interests and big commercial houses are the greatest source of resistance, as well as the private transport companies, because we have lowered fares.

How far have you gotten in implementing your program?

The lowering of transport fares has been implemented; decentralization in the first stage is operative; the tax policy is before the courts—it's in the budget.

What has been the response of the ruling classes and the national government?

The reforms have created problems, particularly between the neoliberal, central government and the socialist municipality. But we are gaining enormous popular support in pursuing our policies. During the elections, I received approximately 30 percent of the vote; after five months in office, the latest polls give us 55 percent approval.

With that kind of support it is easy to imagine you winning the next national elections. Your success must preoccupy President Lacalle.

The national government is trying to strangle local government by limiting our prerogatives. Unlike other municipal experiences in Latin America, we have a higher degree of autonomy. We have 90 percent of the resources to finance our projects. The right is trying to limit our tax powers. What we have against us is the mass media, which is in the hands of the right.

We are working on establishing a TV channel. At the same time, we are constantly meeting with large-scale popular assemblies in the neighborhoods, discussing the reforms, listening to suggestions.

We want profound social changes, but not within the framework of capitalist power. We are trying to create productive areas, so that income comes from produc-

tion and not simply taxes. We are working on three areas: tourism, casinos and hotels. [The city of Montevideo owns gambling casinos and hotels.] In five months we have tripled our income from these sources because they are better and more honestly administered, and we are investing the income in projects of "popular tourism"—for the working class. We have a bio-gas project to convert garbage into gas to save on the cost of energy. For the rural areas adjoining the city, we are organizing farmers' markets, municipal markets to generate new income.

How do you relate to the heterogeneous Broad Front—with its numerous parties, fronts and intricate alliances?

We have to represent all Montevideans with our programs and elected officials, but not be subject to party interference in our administration. I am opposed to appointments by "party quotas." We are trying to limit clientelism by selecting the best-qualified people.

How do the old administrators respond to the new policies?

Some respond favorably, others distort or paralyze policy implementation. There are two roads to deal with this problem: through decentralization we will bypass bureaucratic blockage; and through the participation of the municipal workers and trade unions we can jump directly over the bureaucrats. Moreover, with fax machines, top policy-makers can communicate directly and bypass the bureaucratic chains.

What is the distribution of power among local governments in Uruguay? Is there any possibility of joining forces at the local level?

There are 19 departments, the Nationals have 16, the Colorados two and the Broad Front one. The mayors of the other parties, especially the Nationals, are moving toward a common position with us.

For us, decentralization is a means to strengthen democracy, not merely to "rationalize" administration. It is not a means to administer, but to increase popular power and decision-making.

James Petras is professor of sociology at the State University of New York, Binghamton.

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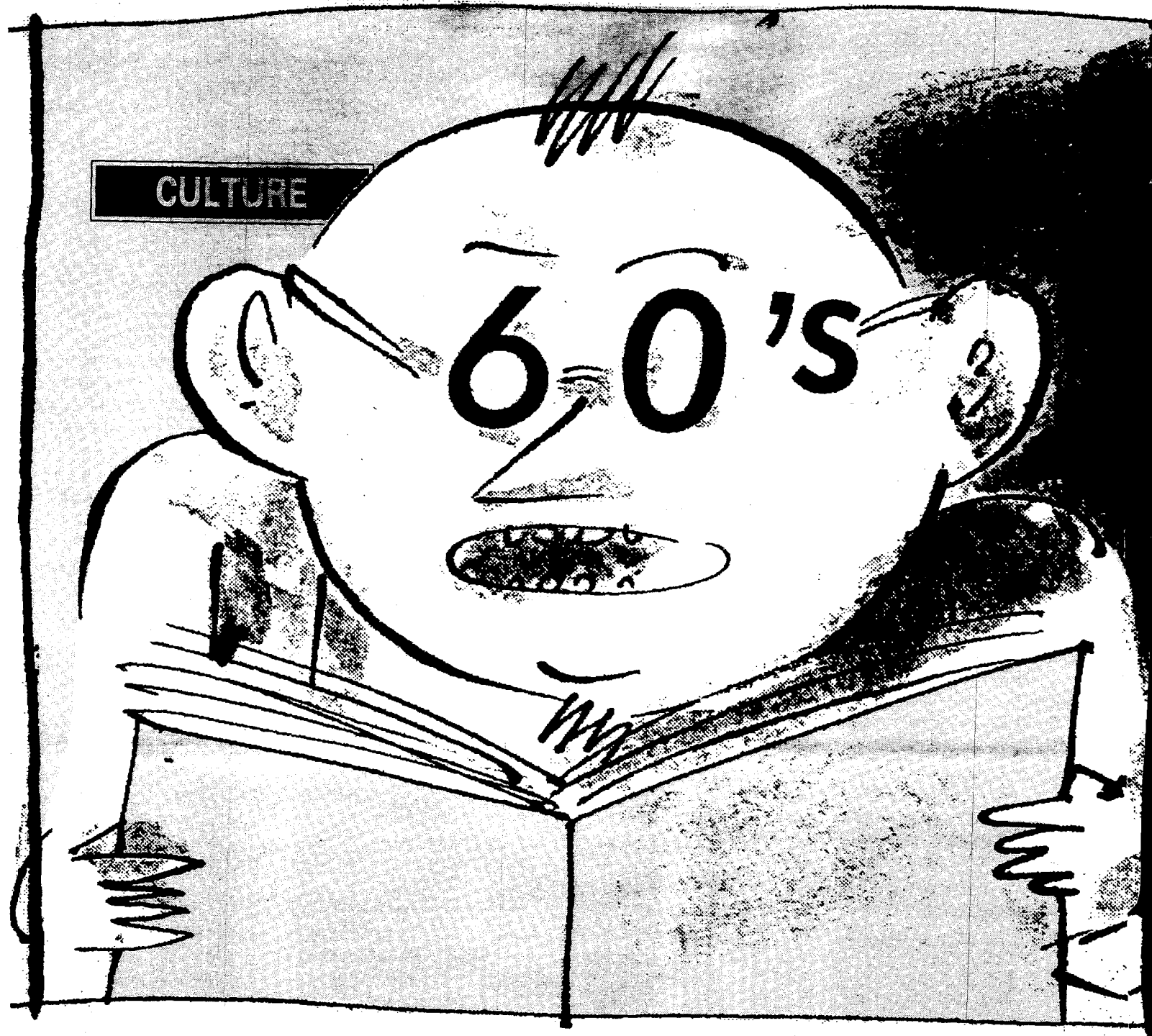
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Digging the '60s literary underground

CULTURE



By Will Nixon

IN THE '60S, THE ENDICOTT HOTEL, ON the corner of 81st and Columbus, featured a murder a week as one of Manhattan's worst welfare dives. In the '70s and '80s, though, wealth flowed up Columbus Avenue, transforming this luxury-liner-sized brownstone into elegant co-ops and fancy shops with oak-trimmed windows. Endicott Booksellers, smack in the middle, has a cozy back den where your feet sink softly in the Dartmouth green carpet and your mind wanders among the freshly minted literary paperbacks filling the oak bookcases.

But this evening the staff has set up rows of folding chairs and now passes a tray of white wine among an audience of intellectually seasoned Upper West Siders—and younger Downtowners with coiffured ponytails. Their guest seems to be 20 minutes late, but everyone realizes he's probably still traveling on '60s time.

When the rarely seen Terry Southern does arrive, he turns out to have

as much charisma as an eccentric and bashful English professor unhappily woken from a nap. It's not the persona you expect for a man who provided the '60s with its black-humor laugh track through such novels as *Candy* and *The Magic Christian*, and such screenplays as *Dr. Strangelove*.

Today, almost a senior citizen, he's quite portly with a second chin outdoing the first and a skimpy Judge Bork beard. He wears a blue blazer and gray slacks. His pate would be bald save for one wild swatch of used Brillo hair over his forehead. "Here we are, the crème de la crème," he says, anxiously.

Getting wacky: His first story does not go well. He holds some wrinkled pages—possibly the original manuscript from the early '50s—and fusses through them as if having some trouble deciphering the print. For his second story, though, he pulls out his newly reissued collection of stories, *Red Dirt Marijuana and Other Tastes*, and chooses "The Blood of the Wig." It's about a snooty writer at a hack magazine, a shop-

worn premise, but in Southern's hands things start to turn a little wacky. And then a lot wacky.

His writer has found the hip new high, a shot of blood smuggled out of a Chinese symbolist poet in Bellevue, and he's writing a little spoof about the Kennedy assassination in which a lumbering Lyndon Johnson has snuck back on Air Force One to open the casket and whip out his member to enter the neck wound itself. Or, in Southern's words, "Neckrophilia." The extroverts in the crowd guffaw and the rest perk up.

Afterwards, Southern gets down to the meat of the evening, autographing copies of *Red Dirt Marijuana* for fans to buy at the register. His pub-

lisher, 32-year-old Dan Levy, hovers nearby, fashionably dressed in a gray TV-test-pattern jacket with a small button in the lapel. "TAKE BACK YOUR MIND," it says under an intriguing logo, an eye in a triangle (copied from a dollar bill) inside a red circle. It's a catchy plug for Levy's new Citadel Underground paperback series which aims to present the '60s counterculture not as chic nostalgia but as a permanent force. And he wants to build from there. "Challenging Consensus Reality Since 1990" is the series' other motto. But the question remains: who's buying it?

"I think a lot of people from the '60s may lead very conventional

The new Citadel Underground series, by showing the ragged side of the '60s, hopes to dispel the myth for today's young people that what's going on now isn't cool enough.

lives, but in a profound emotional way are living underground," Levy says, hoping they come out enough to buy some of these books that haven't been available for a decade or more. "Where the '60s fell apart," he adds, "is that their primary legacy for people my age is the right to party. But you can stand only so much of Reaganism. Kids today might be ready to shake it up a bit."

Digging the '60s: Levy had the idea for Citadel Underground books in the summer of 1988 at a Grateful Dead concert in Berkeley. He had just read Emmett Grogan's classic Haight-Ashbury memoir, *Ringolevio*, about the Digger community, and thought the younger people around him should do the same. "I'm acutely conscious of the young people who come every few years to check out the Grateful Dead and have no idea about the authentic '60s. They just get the stylistic trappings, the tie-dye T-shirts. The Haight scene is usually remembered by way of *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test* as just being wildly frenetic and acid-crazed without any of the care about the community that the Diggers represented."

"I think the '60s are a tremendous burden for kids who have a bohemian impulse," Levy continues. "Compared with what's going on now the '60s are impossibly glamorous. These times are boring; there's nothing really to rail against. Kids feel like they're not part of any movement. They're too accustomed to the media's view of the '60s as a parade of Merry Pranksters, student radicals, Black Panthers, women's liberationists and everyone else with a cause, all dancing together down the now-lost road to utopia."

"In fact, there was terrible infighting," he says, "and just as much diffusion and diffusion as there is now." Take out the Vietnam War, an innocence toward drugs, and honest rock'n'roll, he says, and you won't find the '60s counterculture that different from what's percolating today. "The books I've chosen tend to be ones that present those times as diffuse, chaotic and not necessarily pleasant because I think that's the only way to dispell the myth for young people that what's going on now isn't cool enough for them to make a dent."

Levy came east and found a sponsor in Steven Schragis, a 34-year-old scion of a family fortune made on Doral Hotels who caught the publishing bug as an owner of *Spy* magazine and subsequently assembled a mid-size book firm called Carol Publishing Group. So far, the house has made its biggest money with tabloid fluff—*A Woman Named Jackie*, *Call Her Miss Ross* and *What Does Joan Say?* by Nancy Reagan's spurned astrologer—but Schragis obviously has eclectic tastes.

Citadel Underground debuted this past June with a booth full of books at a Grateful Dead concert in Mt.

View, Calif. And the series now sponsors a new weekly radio show, *The Grateful Dead Hour*. If nothing else, Levy aims to be the unofficial publishing division of the free-floating, always-growing Dead Head empire.

Packaging without selling out: Citadel Underground is hardly underground, of course, not with all of the marketing panache put into posters, logos, reader-response cards in the back of the books, and a manifesto—it reads more like a marketing proposal—that lists Levy's phone, fax, and computer link-up code. He's even assembled a '60s Who's Who board of advisers to lend him advice and credibility. Of course, back in the early '70s, business efforts to market the counterculture helped kill it, as Levy well knows. "The classic is the ad for CBS

records that ran in *Rolling Stone*," he says. "Don't let the man take away your music," which completely co-opts the political consciousness of the time for the purpose of selling records."

But today savvy marketing may be what the '60s needs. And that Levy works this way shouldn't be surprising since he came of age in the era of youth marketing rather than of youth itself. He watched the '60s on TV from his comfortable boyhood home in West LA, though he kept his ears plugged way into rock'n'roll. He finally reached the Bay Area as a doctoral student in economics at Stanford, and when he dropped out in the early '80s, it was to work for Continental Illinois Bank in Chicago and then Booz Allen & Hamilton management consultants.

But his yuppie cells burned out after five years. "I'm a refugee from corporate America," he says now.

Three Citadel Underground books have appeared so far with seven more due in the fall. The most obscure is the late Don McNeill's *Moving Through There*, a wonderful collection of *Village Voice* pieces that describe 1967 in the East Village as an intensely bittersweet time, a mixture of whimsical street theater—such as the East 3rd Street Sweep-In—gritty runaway life, and grand intentions made of sand. Even as it happened, McNeill saw the '60s as a fleeting firefly.

Tales of beatnik glory: *Red Dirt Marijuana*, though released in 1967, really satirizes urbane '50s hipsters, although the stories' settings range from the twangy Texas country of

Southern's youth to the jazz clubs of Paris. And *Ringolevio*, a mythical memoir of a Brooklyn kid who grows up on the streets to make good, hippie-style, isn't just free food and fun. Grogan's Haight-Asbury is rife with police busts and flaring anger. No doubt, upcoming books, such as poet Ed Sander's *Tales of Beatnik Glory*, Jane Alpert's memoir *Growing Up Underground*, and Laurance Gonzales' rock'n'roll novel *Jambeau*, will dish out the '60s just as spicy and scrambled as Levy likes them.

The counterculture didn't start with the '60s, of course, nor does Levy want it to end there. By next year he'll have some new books, *True Hallucinations* by Terence McKenna, whom he calls "the most interesting writer about psychedelic drugs ever," and *Negrophobia*, a first

novel by a writer, Darius James, who may make Ishmael Reed's biting satires on racism look tame. In the book, a young girl accidentally places a spell upon herself that makes every racist stereotype come true as she's thrown into a world where she's the only white.

"The author's idea is that anyone reading this book will have a spell cast upon them so that, in the future, if one has a racist thought one will become blocked—like the Ludovico technique in *A Clockwork Orange*," Levy says. "This is probably the one where we're taking the most extreme and dangerous stand as publishers."

He couldn't sound happier. **Will Nixon** is a journalist living in New York who writes on the publishing world.

America and I: Short Stories by American Jewish Women Writers

Edited by Joyce Antler
Beacon Press, 355 pp., \$19.95

By Eleanor J. Bader

ALTHOUGH IT IS NOT SO LONG ago, in terms of years, that I was forced to go to *shul* each and every Friday night, my memory of that early-childhood and post-adolescent period is incredibly dim. Gone are the words to prayers, incantations

WOMEN

and chants I committed to memory, and gone are the feelings of connectedness to ritual and reverence thousands of years old.

But that is not to say that I've completely repressed the experience, because another set of feelings continue to linger, like the unpleasant residue of spoiled food or unemptied trash: the politics of class and the personal implications of economic differences on day-to-day life. For it was there, at Temple B'Nai Israel, amid the Torah scrolls and *siddurim* (prayerbooks), that I came to grasp for the first time what such differences meant. It was there that monied "Fairfield kids" taunted me for my Bridgeport looks—the cheap clothes, the glasses, the "wrongness" of affect that I wore with simultaneous defiance and shame.

Discordant messages: Although a more positive legacy of those years remains—a Temple youth group introduced me to the history of Jewish resistance and the obligation to fight for justice—the twin messages I absorbed were so discordant that I cast aside all associations with formal Jewish groups at the first opportunity. And despite a resolute commitment to feminist and left-wing activism (for which I credit my Hebrew School teachers), the prospect of participating in even the most progressive Jewish-only programs or celebrations has since left me dry-mouthed and anxious.

Nonetheless, I picked up *America*



Class acts and coming-of-age tales

and I, a collection of 23 short stories by American Jewish women, written over the past 90 years, eagerly. Perhaps I wanted to see if anyone addressed the class conflicts endemic to Jewish life; or perhaps I wanted to reconnect with immigrant women, like my grandmother, who sought to make the U.S. conform to them and their needs. Or perhaps I simply wanted a good read, something an anthology that includes Rosellen Brown, Hortense Calisher, Leslea Newman, Tillie Olsen, Cynthia

Ozick, Grace Paley, Lynne Sharon Schwartz and Anzia Yezierska can all but promise.

I was not disappointed, on any front.

In the very first story, "Malinke's Atonement," Mary Antin writes movingly of the poverty in Polotzk, in the "old country" of Russia, and its impact on one hungry, though feisty, nine-year-old girl. After her mother slaughters a chicken for a Sabbath meal, the first meat the family will have had in ages, a problem with the

carcass is noticed and Malinke is asked to go to the rabbi to see if the bird is, in fact, kosher and thus edible. After a thorough inspection, the rabbi declares the chicken "trafe," unkosher. Malinke, hungry to the point of despair, faces a tough choice: to lie to her mother about the food's acceptability and feast, or to tell the truth and starve. Hard stuff, this, and brilliantly told.

Keeping it together: Although Jewishness is not central to Tillie Olsen's "I Stand Here Ironing," the guilt and anguish a poor woman feels about the things she cannot

The multiplicity of experiences addressed in *America and I* makes the book relevant for all audiences.

provide her child forms the core of this impassioned lament. "She was dark and thin and foreign looking in a world where the prestige went to bloneness and curly hair and dimples. She was slow where glibness was prized. She was a child of anxious, not proud, love. We were poor and could not afford for her the soil of easy growth. I was a young mother, I was a distracted mother," she writes. This solitary woman expresses her love for her child in the only way an exhausted body and tired mind can: by keeping the home together and the family at least minimally fed.

Class also takes center stage in "Z'Mira," a look at the rifts between Eastern European (Ashkenazi) and Sephardic Jews in Israel. Author Gloria Goldreich hones in brilliantly on both the cultural differences between the two groups and the racism that divides them. Z'Mira, a Moroccan, is hired by a university researcher as a maid. Although the girl's work is close to exemplary, her

habit of "borrowing" her employers' clothes rankles and offends. How they resolve the situation provides for tension and calamity—and a good, incisive short story.

But class is not the only issue raised in *America and I*. Adjustment to a new land; assimilation; spirituality; sexuality; the obligation to make the world better; relations between old-world parents and new-world offspring; intermarriage; the Holocaust; and gay and lesbian rights are all addressed with wit, precision and emotional honesty. While not every story will grab every reader, the mix makes the anthology a rare, exciting, page-turning event.

In "Electricity," Francine Prose looks at an adult's return to the Jewish fold, an aging man's reconnection to spirituality after a lifetime of secular living.

Lynne Sharon Schwartz's protagonist, the fully assimilated David, spends his entire life denying the horrors of his concentration-camp youth. In "Opiate of the People," we are brought into the bowels of his family to witness—and shudder at—the damage wrought.

Likewise, in Leslea Newman's near-perfect "A Letter to Harvey Milk," a Holocaust survivor is forced to reconcile his nightmares about being a pink-triangled homosexual in the camps with the realization that this symbol is now worn to indicate pride, connectedness and resistance.

Although *America and I* is women's writing—feminist writing—the multiplicity of experiences addressed makes the book relevant for all audiences, of all ages, backgrounds and life experiences. It has had a profound effect on me, in its way provoking a sense of internalized Jewish pride. Clearly, the chutzpah, daring and audacity of many of my foremothers and present-day sisters is something to rejoice in. For perhaps the first time in my life, I understand the desire to stand shoulder-to-shoulder with the progressives among them, and together struggle for peace and social justice. **Eleanor J. Bader** is a writer living in New York.

IN THESE TIMES OCT. 3-9, 1990 19

By Patrick Z. McGavin

THE ONLY FILMMAKER WHO EVER turned up on Richard Nixon's "Enemies List," Emile de Antonio, was a radical documentarist who died of a heart attack last December at age 69.

His films were made on the cheap—he usually distributed them himself and financed them through a small group of influential, wealthy friends sympathetic to his cause,

FILM

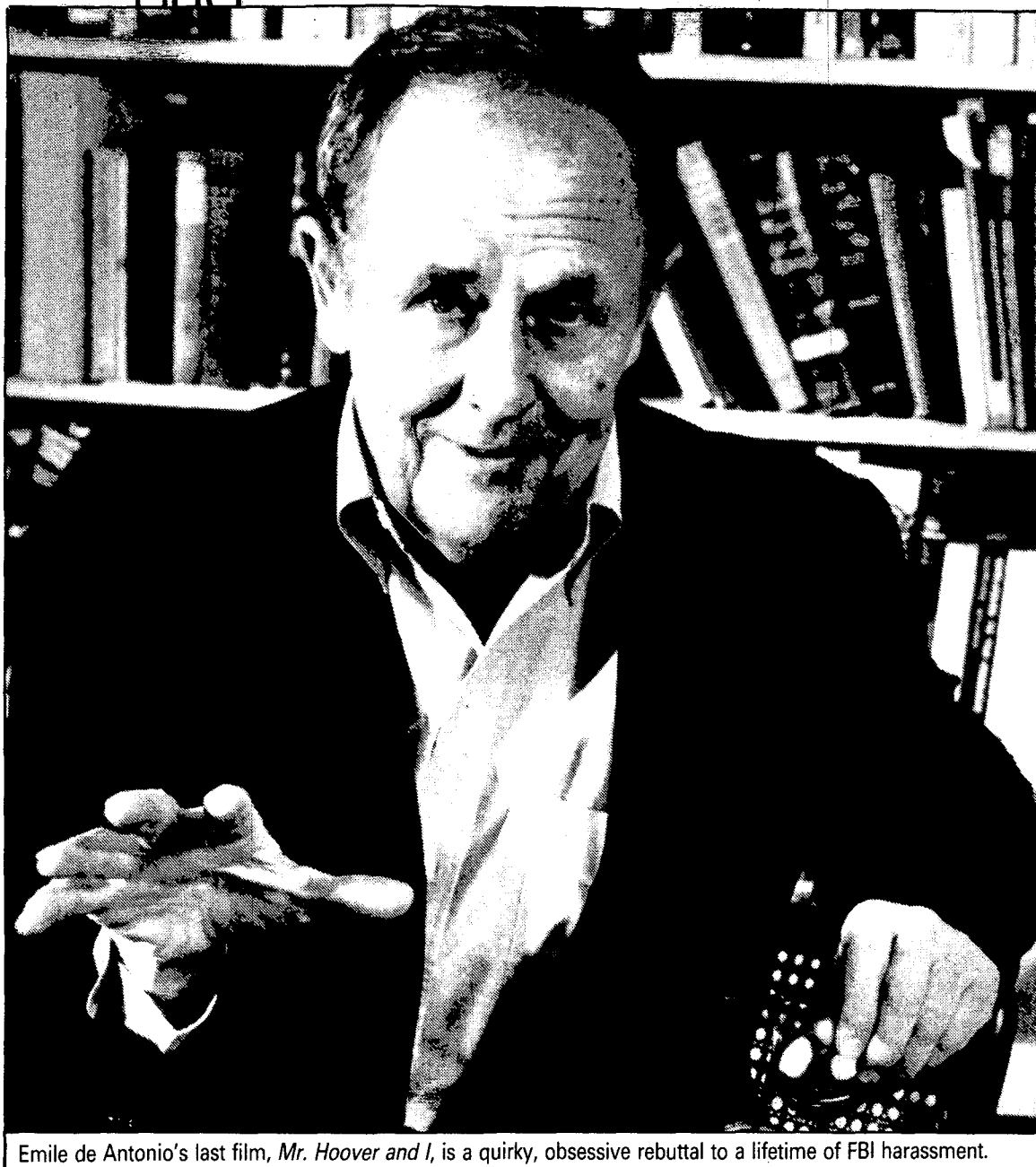
such as Paul Newman, Leonard Bernstein, Walter Reade and Steve Allen. "Fiction is cheap," he said. "Cheap means freedom. Minimum budget and creating a new form. Perhaps the only thing worthwhile to do is to make something that isn't for sale, but on your own terms."

His final work, *Mr. Hoover and I*, may not be his best work, but as a summation of de Antonio's life and work, it is unquestionably illuminating. It distills his primary gifts as a filmmaker, a forceful intelligence and unrelenting tenacity to document the unseen and the covered-up. The film, which has received only limited exhibition to date, is also a formal meditation on the nature of the documentary. De Antonio uses a direct address format that links *Mr. Hoover and I* to Ross McElwee's *Sherman's March* and Michael Moore's *Roger & Me*.

Profiles in courage: Given the events of his life, this is an exhilarating starting point, an invigorating departure from the "objective" documentary that flows into autobiography. De Antonio grew up in Scranton, Pa., and lived a comfortable, upper-middle-class life, the son of an influential doctor. He entered Harvard University at 16, was a classmate of John F. Kennedy and was immediately placed under surveillance by the FBI for joining the Young Communist League and the John Reed Society.

At first glance, the structure of *Mr. Hoover and I* is deceptively simple. It's an open-ended attack and reconsideration of the life and times of J. Edgar Hoover. It's a continuation of de Antonio's major preoccupation, a bracing deconstruction of a man he considered among the most evil in America's modern history, linking it to his landmark collage films on the Army-McCarthy hearings, *Point of Order* (1964), and Richard Nixon, *Millhouse: A White Comedy* (1971).

De Antonio's other works include *Rush to Judgment* (1966), about the Kennedy assassination; *In the Year of the Pig* (1968), a brilliant Vietnam film; *Painters Painting* (1973), about Pollock, de Kooning, Kline and Warhol; and *Underground* (1975), a fine documentary on the outlaw radical Weathermen Underground, which he made with Mary Lampson and the superb cinematographer



Emile de Antonio's last film, *Mr. Hoover and I*, is a quirky, obsessive rebuttal to a lifetime of FBI harassment.

Remembering de Antonio: life of an American original

Haskell Wexler.

Weathering the storm: De Antonio never escaped the harassment of the U.S. government. Nixon ordered the FBI to close down the exhibition of *Millhouse*, and a grand jury was convened and de Antonio, Wexler and Lampson were ordered to hand over their raw materials on the Weather Underground. When they refused, the filmmakers won the support of some influential Hollywood actors and producers, 46 of

censorship."

Substantially, the film is about de Antonio's uncovering of his life, framed through the ridiculous angle of the FBI's parallel investigation. Much of *Mr. Hoover and I* is de Antonio talking directly to the camera. "If you think I'm an anarchist, maybe I am," he says. But "my crimes were not very substantial. I wasn't a spy.

I made a bad Benedict Arnold. I talk too much, I drink too much. I've been married six times." De Antonio gives a brief, mocking history of the FBI and Hoover's racial and sexual prejudices. He also accuses Hoover of attempting to destroy the civil rights movement.

Freedom just another word? For de Antonio, Hoover was a blatant

opportunist, "master of deceit," and quintessential bureaucrat who kept cryptic, voluminous files on those whose political sympathies or lifestyle he found suspect.

De Antonio's own FBI files, which he received under the Freedom of Information Act, stretched beyond 10,000 pages. "It's a P.R. gimmick. There's no freedom and there's no information. You get things that don't matter, a lot of it ridiculous," de Antonio says, discovering many of the files altered or censored.

But Hoover, he argues, was most dangerous not for his systematic denial of civil liberties but for the bureaucratic apparatus he constructed to pursue his twisted vision—in particular, supplying misinformation for Nixon's "smear campaigns."

"I can't get over Hoover, ever," de Antonio says. "He ran the secret police of my country. I was never a very good Communist. I don't prefer any other country. I would like to see this country changed," he says.

In addition to such broad political strokes, the material is also deeply personal. Shot in long, uninterrupted takes, the film is elliptical, confessional and clear—yet never sluggish. Sequences featuring minimalist John Cage, in which we see the composer baking bread and discussing indeterminism, are relaxed but vigorous. *Mr. Hoover and I* contains some unmistakable flourishes of the late filmmaker: mock archival footage that place Hoover and Nixon in a harsh, unyielding light.

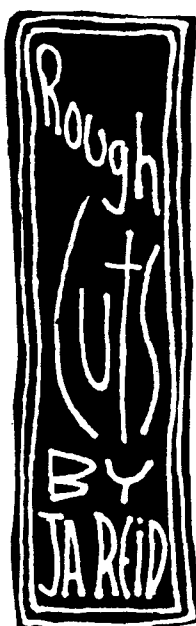
"Politics means social change," de Antonio says in his closing, "and you won't find mine in the dictionary. We're on the verge of a new kind of social change. The form cannot be predicted. We will be aware of that form as it takes place." With those final words, the image fades, but the intensity, intellectual breadth and daring of Emile de Antonio are recalled, with fond irreverence.

Note: Most of de Antonio's films are available on videotape from Facets Video (1-800-331-6197).

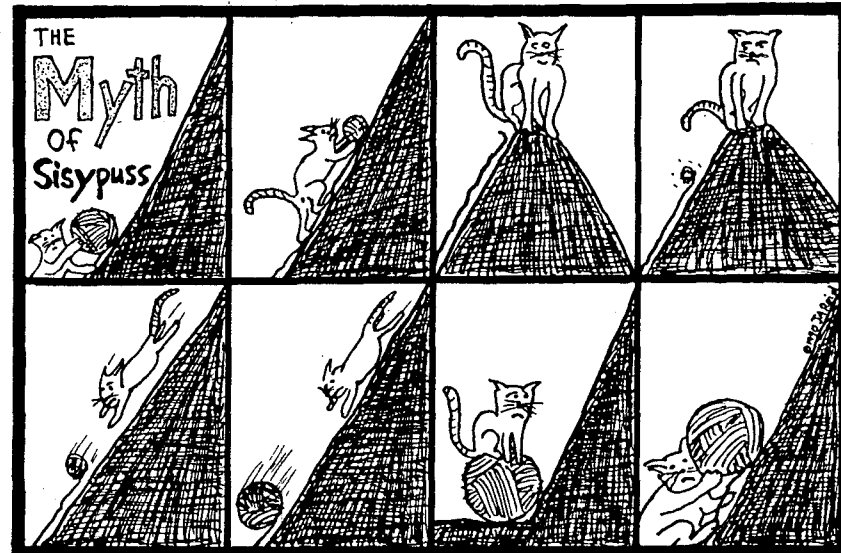
Patrick Z. McGavin is a writer living in Chicago.

Emile de Antonio entered Harvard at 16, was a classmate of JFK and was immediately placed under FBI surveillance.

whom signed a statement deploring the actions of the FBI and the grand jury. A federal judge later ruled in favor of the filmmakers. "Here," de Antonio says in *Hoover and I*, "we say we have freedom, and we have



"That damned cat"



FILM



Meryl Streep and Shirley MacLaine embrace mother/daughter difficulties Hollywood style in *Postcards from the Edge*.

Attack of the Hollywood monster moms

Postcards from the Edge
Directed by Mike Nichols

By Pat Aufderheide

POSTCARDS FROM THE EDGE is diverting enough that you weather its clumsiness with equanimity and don't feel ripped off on the way out. And because it's good enough to work, you can even ask why it works. The reason goes beyond directorial deftness and acting talent: the movie plays on (and with) bitter folklore of family and gender relations.

Carrie Fisher rewrote her novel into the script for this Mike Nichols-directed film. As in the book, it's the semi-autobiographical story of a moderately successful Hollywood actress, daughter of a star whose image has become the stuff of parody and gay cults. The daughter struggles toward psychological autonomy and away from drug addiction, more in spite than because of any help from her co-workers in the entertainment industry. The movie pivots (unlike the book) on the mother-

daughter relationship rather than on the daughter's struggle with drug dependency.

Somebody—Fisher? Nichols?—introduced scenes where *The Point* is driven home till it's good and staked. So if you want to know what the movie's about, you can check out the scene in which the film director (Gene Hackman) tells tormented, insecure actress Suzanne (Meryl Streep) that she can stop the generational misery-train right here and now. Each mom inflicts pain on each daughter, he explains, until somebody breaks the chain by force of

will and grows up. There's also the scene where drunken mom (Shirley MacLaine) gets into a car accident and ends up in a hospital bed, not only without her makeup but with her own mother (Mary Wickes) insensitively haranguing her. Suddenly we see that Suzanne's show-biz-beast of a mom has her own problems.

Dangerous barbs: It's fun to watch Meryl Streep play comedy (and even sing country). Yes, she can do it, though her character of the eternally frail victim, the Hollywood brat damaged by anxious privilege, also allows her to show her weepy

side. She's aided enormously by the script's many barbed quips, which are mostly reserved for her character, blessed or cursed with ironic distance even on her own plight. (When emergency room staff tell her they're going to pump her stomach after an overdose, she says, "Do I have to be there?")

Streep also benefits from a sure-footed ensemble of acting pros, most of them familiar with Mike Nichols' style. Shirley MacLaine seems a little reined in by a part that requires her to be both sympathetic and also (if unwittingly) a nightmare mom. But it took some daring—and is quite effective—for her to appear shockingly wigless, virtually hairless and without makeup in the hospital scene that signals her vulnerability. Gene Hackman, Richard Dreyfuss and Rob Reiner are also veterans whose smaller roles tighten what threatens at time to be a less-than-shapely plot.

Along the way, the movie's a gossip, jokey insider's look at movie-making. Fisher's sardonic wit is balanced with genuine affection for the working world of movies; there are

even positive roles for the techies (but not for producers). It's plenty of fun to see how they do special effects—and to see how cheap they can get and still be effective. If the movie's bound to have a special insider appeal, it's also broad enough for the lay crowd that scoops up trade gossip in magazines like *Premiere* and *Movieline*.

No way out: But the movie's gut appeal has to do with one of our most traditional pastimes: mommy-bashing. There is, it seems, no clean way to get out of motherhood. The brutal clash of infant dependence with the need to arrive at individual selfhood brews unhappiness, most conveniently laid at mom's door. Our popular culture is full of mirror images of awesome motherly domination and sacrifice, most commonly in Jewish-mother jokes. Movies love the bad mom, from *Stella Dallas* to *Mommie Dearest* to *Terms of Endearment*—films in which the only way to exit motherhood gracefully is to disappear or die young.

Postcards takes this ancient theme from the victim-daughter's perspective, but not without framing it. The victim-daughter begins to heal only when she can begin to see mom as a victim-daughter herself. Until then, the daughter exists only as an aspect of her mother's insecurities, anxieties and self-promotion (and she diligently fulfills that aspect, leaving it only to do herself harm). In turn, her mom is a victim of grandma's domination.

These moms are so terrifying because they are so strong, so engulfingly competent and hard-driving. But then, they have to be—look at the men around them. Grandma has the irascible Grandpa (Conrad Bain) whose Alzheimer's doesn't entirely mask a lifelong crabbiness. Mom has Silent Sid (Sidney Amus) her nearly comatose husband who's always splayed out on furniture in the back-ground. And victim-daughter Suzanne gets Jack (Dennis Quaid), a smooth talker who can't understand why women are always so upset when he romances them and then walks out. In fact, the only good man in the movie is Suzanne's father-figure director (Hackman plays him with aplomb and fatherly charm), who tells her to cut her ties with her mother and create herself. It seems that father—when you can find him—knows best.

It may be that absent dads make for bullying moms, but absence and irresponsibility don't make for nearly as colorful a cultural villain as intimate powerplays do. So it's mommy who carries the freight when things go awry in the next generation. *Postcards from the Edge* won't be the last film to make us laugh at what seems like the cruelly inevitable in family life. But it's witty enough, and—located in the bizarre world of domestic Hollywood as it is—outrageous enough to give us some ironic distance on that too-familiar blame-it-on-mom habit. ■

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GoodFellas

Continued from page 24

a family against renegade members of it.

Loyalty is the guiding rule, buttoned lips the safeguarding of it. But hierarchical loyalty also means constant deadly danger. And if deadly danger is the price of life, it's also the only life around—except, of course, for the pinchpenny, wait-in-line life of the schnooks. As in *The Godfather*, the crumbling of the tight little world begins with drug-running and the toll drug use takes on its practitioners. But it's not because of standards or honor, only because of the hazards of the trade (people become undependable).

The film then brings those home truths to life. The brutal terms of work in the subculture get laid down before the credits, as a gangster trio discovers that the victim in the trunk of the car is still alive and needs to be killed all over again. Violent and gory, the film also never sensationalizes the cruelty it portrays (think of the horse's head in the bed in *The Godfather*). Violence is shown instead as bald, petty, psychotic, inexorable and never-ending work.

Low-rent luxury: Where the film excels, though, is in the group scenes. If they sometimes take the film astray from its narrative line, it's hard to care; their vividness accounts for the fact that the film's two-and-a-half hours pass quickly.

Where Henry says he was "part of something," the film makes that palpable. Scenes are crowded, packed with background characters visited in looping pans and traveling shots that snoop with casual aplomb. Michael Ballhaus' photography—he's the German cinematographer who started out with Fassbinder, worked with John Sayles and is now a stellar Hollywood figure, including his work on *Postcards from the Edge*—takes risks and runs to the edge of bravado without falling over. It echoes, in fact, the

tell-all character of the narration.

The production design (by Kristi Zea, who also did *Married to the Mob*) vividly captures not only the sordid, but—much harder—the low-rent lavishness, the tinselly decor, the disposable luxury of the instantly and evanescently rich. At bars, nightclubs, in back rooms and at family occasions, conversation is raucous, overlapping and subtly revealing; you feel yourself pulled into a fast-paced, hermetic and intensely involving world.

The soundtrack, heavily drawing on the least subtle in period top-40, matches the interior decoration: as things fall apart, it gets noisier and more irritating. In this hectic environment, it comes to seem almost normal that fur coats and bodies both show up in meat freezers, murders are arranged (and even executed) over poker games, ziti and cocaine get cooked up at the same time.

The group portrait that emerges is superbly led by veteran actors. Robert DeNiro, as the thug Jimmy who's excluded by birth from the inside family core, manages to do something he hasn't succeeded in lately—making you forget he's DeNiro. Paul Sorvino as the slow-moving, barely-talking big boss carries the simplicity of power—he's the judicious, hardworking god of the underworld. Joe Pesci, as the psychotic little criminal Tommy, sends chills down your spine in tour de force scenes where his out-of-control violence goes unchecked. Lorraine Bracco reveals both Karen's knowledge of the stakes and her vulnerability to the glamor of power. Her disintegration becomes a ruling metaphor in the film's denouement.

Scorsese, it's clear, has forgotten nothing since *Mean Streets*, made in 1973 with a small collection of friends, many of whom reappear here. It's still a male world, hermetic and rewarding; and it's got the same compulsive ethnographic instinct. *GoodFellas*, though, has cool assurance; *Mean Streets* had the chip on the shoulder of its edgy young protagonists.

Mean Streets revealed not only a macho hermeticism but deep anxiety about female power (especially in their religious aspect). *GoodFellas* explores the complementary life of the underworld's women. Karen's narration, her conflicts with Henry and her own

experience of the double female culture—the self-satisfied, plush but empty one of the wives and kids, and the lavish but tacky one of the mistresses and nightclub companions—all ground the culture of the men.

GoodFellas is an anti-romantic film about romantic passion for wealth and power. The work of gangsters is to make money, an enterprise in which they are aided greatly by the schnooks within the upper world they prey on. But that culture isn't sustained by money alone. It lives on what Hill describes as that sense of belonging, of making it in a

world where the only options are poverty or corruption, and on the thrill of power over people's lives. Success is narrowly, but also fabulously, defined.

GoodFellas becomes an indictment of spurious opportunity in a society that promises but doesn't deliver the chance to everybody to "make it." It's also an indictment of celebrity—which requires a horde of nobodies as its counterpart—as a mark of success. Henry Hill may never see it that way. But his life, in *GoodFellas*, shows it. ■

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C A L E N D A R

Use the Calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is **\$25.00 for one insertion, \$35.00 for two insertions and \$15.00 for each additional insert**, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of **ITT Calendar**.

NEW YORK

October 9

"A WORLD TRANSFORMED." Public meeting in conjunction with the Socialist International Council meeting at 7:00 p.m. at the Community Church, 40 East 35th St. Admission \$5. Speakers include Willy Brandt, ACTWU President Jack Sheinkman, Mexican opposition senator Porfirio Munoz Ledo, Dominican Republic leader Jose Francisco Pena Gomez, DSA Vice-Chair Bogdan Denitch, and others. Sponsored by Democratic Socialists of America, 15 Dutch St., Suite 500, New York, NY 10038, (212) 962-0390.

CHICAGO

October 12

A COUNTER-INTELLIGENCE CABARET, featuring Dave Lippman of San Francisco and his arch-nemesis George Schrub of the *Committee to Intervene Anywhere*, will be presented at DePaul University's Concert Hall at 7:30 p.m. at 800 W. Belden. Child care will be provided and a reception for Lippman will follow the performance. \$6. Co-sponsored by Nicaragua Solidarity Committee and DePaul's University Ministry.

October 13

CHICAGO CISPES' FIFTH ANNUAL WALKATHON—The Chicago Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador will hold its fifth annual walkathon in the Lakeview neighborhood of Chicago. Come out and help raise \$10,000 for medical projects of the FMLN and community organizing projects in El Salvador. There will be street theater, banners, music, food and, of course, visible protest to the continued U.S. aid sent to the death squad government of El Salvador. To register and for more information, please call the Chicago CISPES office at (312) 227-2720. SUPPORT THE PEOPLE OF EL SALVADOR! FREE EL SALVADOR NOW!

October 19-21

MIDWEST RADICAL SCHOLARS & ACTIVISTS CONFERENCE presents "The Global Crisis" of socialism and capitalism at Loyola University main campus, Rogers Park (along the lakefront, just south of Evanston). Over 1,000 are expected to attend and over 125 panels and presentations are being scheduled. All trends on the left are invited to attend to discuss and debate the crucial issues of our time. As we fast approach the year 2000, socialism faces crisis, confusion and national upheaval. The conference promises to be a major opportunity to explore connections between theory and practice and renew the socialist and radical movements in our country. For more information and registration, contact Carl Davidson, Networking for Democracy, 3411 W. Diversey, Suite 5, Chicago, IL 60647, (312) 384-8827.

October 26 & 27

125th BIRTHDAY SALUTE TO THE NATION magazine at the Chicago Public Library Cultural Center, 78 E. Washington, from 6:30 to 9:30 p.m. Keynote presentation by Jonathan Kozol, author of *Illiterate America*, *Rachel & Her Children* and *Death at an Early Age*. Program includes: Gwendolyn Brooks; Studs Terkel; *Nation* editor Victor Navasky; Poet & Writers Union member Luis Rodriguez; former managing director of Pantheon Books Andre Schiffrin; and *Chicago Reporter* editor Laura Washington. Donations for this event begin at \$8 and up—sliding scale. Co-sponsored by PEN Midwest, Guild Books, Guild Complex, 3rd Unitarian Church, and Department of Cultural Affairs/City of Chicago. Also on October 27—Booksigning for the Anthology of NATION writings and Round Table discussion on "Tasks and Issues Confronting the Media" at the edge of the lookingglass, 62 E. 13th St. at Michigan Blvd. For more information on both events, contact Lou Rosenbaum, (312) 525-3667.

October 26-28

ANNUAL MEETING AND EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE—Workers Education Local 189, affiliate of the Communication Workers of America (AFL-CIO), will explore the theme "What Is the Future of Workers-Labor Education?" on Saturday, October 27. Friday lecture by Professor Richard Altenbaugh, NIU, on "The Historical Role and Potential of the Independent Labor College." At the Quality Inn, Halsted and Madison Streets. For conference program and more information, call Stan Rosen at (312) 996-2623 or write c/o CLEP (U of I), P.O. Box 4348, M/C 216, Chicago, IL 60680.

SPRINGFIELD, IL

October 13-14

THE FIFTH ANNUAL MOTHER JONES DINNER features United Farm Workers' co-founder Dolores Huerta (and NO grapes!). Also, commemorating the United Mine Workers' centennial, Saturday's 6:30 catered dinner precedes the 8 p.m. program in the Sangamon State University cafeteria. On Sunday, a tribute will be held at 12:30 p.m. at Mother Jones' gravesite, now a national historical monument in Mt. Olive, about one hour south of Springfield on I-55. Dinner tickets are \$15. Call (217) 786-6712.

LOVELAND, OH

October 13 & 27

Grailville completes its "Saturday Specials" with two workshops: Oct. 13—"A DAY WITH WOMEN IN ISLAM." Renee Keels, formerly of the Afro-American Studies Department, University of Cincinnati, presently associate director of the Women's Bureau of Ohio Employment Services, will chair a panel of Women of Islam, including Amina Ali, of Cincinnati, and Malikah Faquir-Harris, of Columbus. Oct. 27—"WINNING WAYS - FOR WOMEN," with Karen Feinberg. A practical down-to-earth workshop will help you to deal with people more successfully. In the morning session, we'll identify the mannerisms and speech habits that often reduce women's effectiveness. In the afternoon, we'll learn methods for protecting ourselves against manipulative behavior. Role-playing—a chance to express ourselves through art—and plenty of opportunity to talk. Programs are held from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. Program fee: \$15 to \$30 sliding scale. Advance reservations needed for lunch. Contact Grailville, 932 O'Bannonville Rd., Loveland, OH 45140, (513) 683-2340.

BASALT, CO

October 19-30

FOURTH ANNUAL PERMACULTURE DESIGN COURSE—Permaculture (Permanent Agriculture) applies principles found in nature to design environmentally responsible communities. Course is designed for arid and semi-arid montane environments. Topics include trees and environmental reforestation, desert homesteading, water harvesting strategies and market gardening. Contact: Jerome's Organics, P.O. Box 631, Basalt, CO 81621, (303) 927-4158.

MINNEAPOLIS

November 9-12

CREATING CHANGE, the third annual conference of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, will be held at the Holiday Inn Metrodome. Highlights are the Fundraising Institute and the People of Color Institute. Registration is \$120 by Sept. 14, \$150 after. For registration forms and more information on NGLTF Cooperating Organization rates, limited income rates and the conference in general, contact NGLTF, 1517 U St. NW, Washington, DC 20009, Attn: Creating Change. (202) 332-6483.

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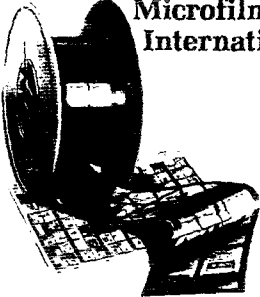
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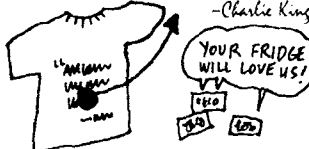
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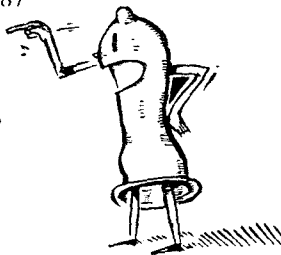
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MOB HIT



GoodFellas

Directed by Martin Scorsese

By Pat Aufderheide

GOODFELLAS IS BY FAR THE MOST AMBITIOUS movie of the season, and perhaps the most successful of Martin Scorsese's ambitious career. He's made a devastating, fascinating portrait of the American dream, more corrosive than *The Godfather*, without the grandiose pretensions of *Last Exit to Brooklyn*. Scorsese authentically captures the gaudy, tawdry promise of the Mafia good life. It's the brass-knuckle counterpart of Michael Roemer's recently revived, wistful portrait of an aging mobster, *The Trouble with Harry*.

Bound to be classified as one of the coming crowd of gangster movies, *GoodFellas* is in a class by itself. The script, by Nicholas Pileggi (with Scorsese) from his 1985 saga of the life of a Mafia enforcer, is the jumping-off point for a rich subcultural portrait.

The movie does have a narrative heart: the life story of Henry Hill (Ray Liotta), half-

Irish and half-Italian, and his Jewish wife Karen (Lorraine Bracco). Both are in thrall to the mystique of power among the powerless. They benefit enormously and fleetingly from the wealth and power of organized crime, not without working and suffering for it in complementary ways.

In the end (as we know from the beginning), Henry sells out his crowd to save his own life. But he's not happy. As he explains in voice-over narration that guides you through the film, he'd wanted to become "a somebody" in the Brooklyn world of "nobodies." He'd been part of a crowd where they were "movie stars with muscle." And he knows that, under the witness-protection program, he'll live out the rest of his life as "a schnook."

Show and tell: Anchored though it is with Henry's personal drama, the movie is not primarily about him but about the way of

life he worked so hard to succeed in—and about its appeal, its terms, its costs. And that is where the force of Scorsese's vision so powerfully meets the tightly-crafted insights Pileggi recovered from four years of interviews with Hill.

The film is a daring mix of the literary and the audiovisual, without any pretense of melding the two. Both Henry and Karen "tell" the movie in voice-over, and it's a rare case of voice-over that does more than paste over plot-continuity problems. It sets the narrative tone by its frank, unapologetic description—patiently but crisply aimed at the schnooks among us—of what the "goodfellas," the "wiseguys," meant to themselves.

Right at the start, Henry elegantly separates tactics from strategy: organized crime, he explains, is not about violence (though murder, among other brutalities, regularly punctuates his life and the movie), but about something far more basic: making money. Furthermore, criminals survive in the sea of schnooks because they offer something of value: protection for people who can't go to the cops.

He goes on to summarize the hard-won knowledge of the participant-observer in the underworld. That world is divided time and again: the schnooks from the goodfellas; the mass of goodfellas from the inside "families," to which only full-blooded Italians are eligible; one family against another; the boss of

Continued on page 22